

THE
Mutable and wauering e-
state of France, from the yeare of our Lord

1460, vntill the yeare 1595.

The great Battailles of the French Nation, as
*well abroad with their forraigne enemies, as
at home among themselves, in their
civill and intestine warres:*

With an ample declaration of the seditious and tre-
cherous practises of that viperous brood of
Hispaniolized Leaguers.

*Collected out of sundry, both Latine, Italian, and
French Historiographers.*

LONDON
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WITNESSED AND MASTICATED

BY THE FRENCH, SPANISH, DUTCH, PORTUGUESE, & ITALIAN
AMBASSADORS, & BY THE ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, IRISH, &
WELSH AMBASSADORS.

THIS DOCUMENT IS A PROOF OF THE
INTEGRITY OF THE TREATY OF PEACE
AND FRIENDSHIP WHICH WAS
CONCLUDED IN LONDON ON THE 27TH OF JULY
LAST, BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE & THE
KING OF ENGLAND.

WITNESSED AND MASTICATED
BY THE FRENCH, SPANISH, DUTCH, PORTUGUESE, &
ITALIAN AMBASSADORS.

CHIEFLY FOR THE USE OF THE
AMBASSADORS OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

LONDON

27 JULY 1763

502

To the R. Maister Iulius



To the right worshipfull Maister Iulius
Cæsar Esquire, Doctor of the Ciuell Lawe, maister of the Requests, and
of Saint Katherins, and chiese Judge of her highnesse Court of the
Admiralitie, &c. a namelesse well-willer, wisheth all
courses of happiness that can
bee named.



Ir, this Collected Historie, of the inconstant and
mutable estate of Fraunce, from the yeare 1460.
vntill the yeare 1595. describing the great battails
of the French Nation, as well abroade with for-
raigne enemies, as at home among themselues, in
their ciuell and intestine warres: also an ample de-
claration of the seditious and trecherous practi-
ses of that viperous brood of Hispaniolized Lea-
guers, during their bloodie mutinies and attempts from time to time,
with whatsoeuer else so serious a discourse can or may affoord, I offer to
your worshipfull and most kinde patronizing. Your euer knowne affable
inclination to studie, and works of woorth, makes me no way mistrustfull
of gentle acceptance: wherfore, in one ballance poysing the Booke, and in
the other whatsoeuer remaynes in mee, alwayes most readie at your
worships seruice, I cease from further troubling you with lines vrging no
delight, desiring, that as your vertues are numberlesse, so your ioyes
both in this worlde, and that to come, may likewise be endlesse.

*I bough namelesse, yet alwayes by your
worship to be commauanded.*

To the Reader.



is due to the fact that the specific language per package can be used.

1. *Adventus regis. Regis. Regis. Regis. Regis. Regis. Regis.*

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Fare vewell.



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THE MVTABILITIE of France.

CHAP. I.

Lewis sonne to Charles the seventh, King of France, is driven out of his fathers Ruydome. He flieth to Philip Duke of Burgundie. Returneth. After his fathers decease is made King. He falleth ou with Charles Duke of Burgundie. Is suddenly broken with a sore disease, and dieth miserably.

S the wauering and interchaungeable course, whereto every thing whatsoeuer is continually subiect, hath beeene always heretofore dayly obserued, in the most auncient, and renowned Monarchies that euer were. So hath it appeared in these latter dayes, and that in a more lively maner, in the strange and wonderfull alterations of our neighbor countryes : whose peace and prosperous estate, as it was the comon ob-

*Kingdomes
and states ful
of change and
mutabilitie
in this age,*

of all mens speach, and nothing is more lystened after, then to what ende matters of so great waight and importance are likeliest to tend. The most noble and renoumed kingdome of France, which for so many yeares flowred with milke and honie, and for the temperatenesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, the ciuitie of the Commons, the loyaltie of the Nobilitie, the dignitie and magnificencie of the Prince, was accounted the paragon of all Nations, hath especially tafted of this vicissitude, and change: which so long as it was at peace with it selfe, and not afflicted with any ciuill discention, the subiect honouring the King with all dutifull obedience, and the King rendering the welfare of the subiect with a hearty and louing affection, and both concurring in one for

THE MVTABILITIE

the aduaancement of the Common-wealthe, flourished in most beautifull maner, and appeared verie pleasing to the eye of all Nations round about: but afterthat it once began to nourish turbulent spirits, and to harbour strange and vnnaturall humours, the Prince following the daungerous projects of yong and corrupt councellors, who rather sought their owne priuate gaine, then the publike profite and vtilitie of the state, and the people beeing easily drawne by the perswasions of their Gouvernoirs to embrace in a maner any noueltie that was propounded: then began the common-wealthe to bee intangled in manie daungerous mischieses, and to bee encombred with sundrie cares, wherewith for this long time it hath beene exceedingly vexed, and tormented. And albeit there hath often bin some mitigation of paine for a while: and that by the great wisedome and skill of such as late at the steare, and had the managing of the publike affayres, the ship, which was well neare ouerwhelmed with boisterous waues, was safelie preserued from the wracke: yet, as though there were a fatall destinie, which could not be auoide, it presently againe fell vpon the shelues, and plunged it selfe a fresh into a vast Ocean of vnspeakable miseries, wherein it hath continued floating vp and downe for these many yeares, and at this day is come to that desperate passe, that although it be neither split vpon the sandes, nor swallowed vp of the fearefull billowes, yet doth it serue as a perfect glasse; to viewe the vnstable estate of these earthly things: and for an assured prooef of the variable change, and continuall vicissitude in the most flowring kingdomis and common-wealthes. Which albeit it doth euidently appeare vnto the eye of euery beholder, yet will it be farre better discerned, if wee consider the reignes of sundry French Kings, in whose times there hath fallen our most strange and admirable accidents, themselves being especiall occasions to prooue a mutuall and an alternatie course, in al things whatsoever.

*Lewis the 11.
K. of France,
rebelled in
his youth
against his
father*

I 46 I

*Lewis the 11.
K. of France.*

Lewis the eleuenth of that name, King of *France*, and sonne vnto *Charles* the seventh, was in his youth (as *Philip de Comyns* reporteth) allured by the craftie perswasions of sundrie seditious heade, to become chiefe of a rebellious faction, and to beare Armes agaynst his father, to his vnspeakable griefe, and the imminent perill of the whole lande: but that vnnaturall warre not continuing long, and the sonne being drawne to his obedience, by the louing and wise perswasions of the King his father, all things grewe verie peaceable for a time, and the yong Prince continued in verie good grace, vntill at length by reason of newe occasions of suspition, hee was forced to auoyde the Realme, so exceedingly was the King his father incensed agaynst him: and going to *Philip Duke of Burgundie*, who at that present was a verie great and mightie potentate, was most honorably intreated, & furnished with all things necessarie for himselfe and his retinue: where he remained for a long time notwithstanding, the duke was very often & earnestly solicited to the contrarie by the king his father. At the last all the stormie tempests being blowne ouer, and he vpon the decease of his father being called home to receiuethe Diamonde and crowne of *France*, he departed from the Court of *Burgundie*, where he had liued a stranger, and vnder the controlment of others, towards his new kingdome, and naturall Countrie, which he found very peaceable, and flourishing in al wealth and prosperitie: where hee was no sooner quietly establisched, but that

that remembred some olde iniurie, and disliking manie of his fathers most *Lewis the 11.*
faithfull and trutfic counsellors) hee remoued sundry out of their rowmes and *rejecte ab
his fathers
old coun
sellors.*
offices, and imprisoned others, electing new into their places, to the great grieſe
of diuerſe of his beſt affected ſubiects, & the exceeding diſcontentment of moſt
of his chiefeſt Nobilitie: wherupon ensued maruellous trouble to the common
wealthe, and vnspeakable care and vexation of mind to himſelfe. For the Duke *The Duke of
of Brytaine,* the Duke of *Berry,* the Duke of *Nemours,* the earle of *Saint Paul,* the *Briatne, and
earle of Arminake, Beaulen, Albret,* and manie other great Lords and ſtaues, being *sundrie oþer
highlie displeased with the King, and with his gouernement, banded to-
gither againſt him, and calling to theyr ayde Count *Charolois,* ſonne and *of the nobility
heyre to Philip Duke of Burgundie,* rayfed a mightie and puysaunt armie,
wherewith they approched *Paris,* and held besieged the chiefeſt Cittie of
the land.*

The King vnderſtanding the daunger wherein the towne ſtoode, and the *The K. mar
reſolution of his enemies, hasted by all poſſible meaneſ to put himſelfe with
in Paris, the ſafekeeping whereof woulde be moſt auayleable for the aduaunce
ment of his other affayres.* Wherefore hauing gathered a ſtrong power,
marched forwardes on his intended voyage, not purpoſing to hazarde his
fortune vpon anie aduaantage that ſhoule be offered, but onelie to de
fende himſelfe, and to amule his enemies, vntill the tyme might minister
ſome better meaneſ to accompliſh his deſyres: notwithstanding, through *The k. forced
the raſh headineſſe of the Lieutenant of Normandie called Le Brefſy, who to forſake the
had the leading of the auauantgarde, the King was conſtrained to fight, and field.*
to aduenture to open his paſſage by force of armes. But being valiantly reſiſted
by his enemies, after a terrible and bloodie fight, hee was forced to forſake the
field, and to retyre towards Corbeile, leauing the entye glorie of that victorie,
to Count *Charolois,* and his associates.

As this good fortune puffed vp the haughtie minde of the Conquerour,
making him proude, diſdainfull, and highly conceyted of his owne va
lour, which in the ende bred his owne conuulfion and ouerthrowe: ſo did
it teach the conquered to pull downe his ſpirits, and with all circumſpeſt di
ligence and care, to prouide for his future ſafetie, in the moſt politike man
ner that hee might: and hauing (though with much adoo) made peace with
Count *Charolois,* an enemie that hee greatly feared, and reconciled his di
contented Nobles, who were a long time as prickes in his eyes, and thornes
in his sydes, and withall concluded a league with Edward the fourth King
of Englande, at Pilkennie, to his great aduaantage, there remayned nothing
that might any way endauenger his eſtate, but onelie the greatness of Charles
Duke of *Burgundie,* who though he were at amitie with the King, yet for that
hee had a moſt turbulent ſpirite, and of all other could leaſt abide to con
tinue for anie long time together in peace, the King thought hee had iuft oc
caſion to ſuſpect him, and therefore howſoeuer in outwardē ſhewe he made
muchof him, yet in heart hee wished for nothing more then his conuulfion
and ouerthrowe: which appeared moſt appaſſantly by his ſecrete practiſes a
gaynſt the Duke, and then coulde no longer be hidde, when as hee heard of
his diſcomiſſure at the batteyle of Nancy, where the ſayde Duke was ſlaie,

*Charles D.
of Burgundie
ſlaie at
Nancy.*

THE MVTABILITIE

his armie put to flight, and the glorie of that noble house of *Burgundie*, which had flourished for the space of an hundred and twentie yeares, in all pompe and magnificence, was viterly defaced and obscured. For presently vpon the newes, the King was so exceeding ioyfull, that hee did not in a maner regarde how richly and bountifull he rewarded the Messengers of so glad and ioyfull tydings. Nowe beganne hee to studie for nothing so much as howe to dismember this poore afflicted Dukedom, and by all meanes possible to teare and rent it in peeces.

*K. Lewis of France gets
into a great
part of Bur-
gundie.* He first gayned by liberall rewardes, and fayre promises, the chiefest of the Burgonian Nobilitie, and likewise the Captaines of sundrie strong Townes, by which meanes hee gaue *Abbeuille, Peronne, Arras, Hesdin, Bol-*
logne, Dyson, and manie other principall places, so that it seemed that the better part of the Dukedom of *Burgundie* was nowe brought vnder the kings obedience, and annexed to therest of the Dominions of the *Flower de Lys*. By which meanes the reuuenewes of the Crowne were greatly augmented, the lande exceedingly strengthened, the fame and honour of the king wonderfully encreased, all thinges falling out in a manner as well as might be wished or desired.

*The King
broken with
a sudden
disease.* But hee had no sooner attayned to so high a degree of happinessse, but hee was presently crostled with newe miseryes and afflictions, which in small continuall of tyme did wholie bereauie him of his former ioyes. For beeing at dinner at a Village neare vnto *Chynon*, hee was suddainlie stroken with so vehement a paine, that hee lost his speach and sensess, for the space of two dayes togither, not remembryng nor knowing any that were nearest about him. And albeit, by reason of those great meanes, which were vsed, his bo-die was somewhat recovered, and his mynde much bettered, so that he seemed to come to some reasonable vnderstanding and knowledge: yet was hee so weakened, and euerie parte of him so mightilie decayed, that it was not possible to free him of his maladie so long as heelyued. Besides, hee grew so suspiciois of all sortes, and so icalous of his owne sonne, and sonne in Lawe, that hee was never at quyet, but lyued in such continuall feare, least that honour and reuerence which had beene for so long a tyme giuen vnto him, shoulde now be anie wayes diminished, or his former authoritie impayred, that for the maintenaunce thereof hee vexed himselfe in most straunge and pittifull sort. Hee woulde not at anie time come abroade, nor bee scene but of some fewe, in whome hee reposeth a speciall confidence.

*The miserie
of Lewis
the 11.* His Court Gates were continuallie guarded, yea, his verie Chamber Doore so surelye watched, as that it was impossible to keepe a prisoner in more straute manner, then hee kept his owne selfe. And beeing a king, that in former tymes had taken his delight in so manie rich, beautifull, and flourishing Ciuites, and solaced himselfe in so manie stately Pallaces, and pleasaunt Gardeyns, was nowe (to his vnspakeable torment) confined in a narrowe roome; sequestring himselfe from all companie, and euerie other thing, which might breede his delight, or encrease his comfort: and

OF FRANCE.

and so continued in this miserable estate, alwaies languishing in feare, vntill his death, which was in the yeere 1483. and hauing raigned two and twentie yéeres, left behinde him a sonne, who succeeded in the kingdome, in whose dayes fell out many strange and admirable occurrences, as shall appeare in the Chapter following.

The death
of Lewis the
eleventh
King of
France.

CHAP. II.

**Charles the eighth invadeth Italy, and conquereth Naples. Alphonsus and Ferdinando sive
into Sicilia: the Venetians and other Princes leuying a great power, drise the French
out of Italy. The battell of Tarro. The French King dieth suddenly.**



Lbeit that Lewis the eleventh not long before his death, had oftentimes, and that very seriously, aduised his sonne Charles, who was to succeed him in the kingdome, to maintain peace and amitie with all his neighbours rounde about, and by no meanes to enter into warres with any forraigne Princes, before hee were growne to ripe yeéres, and that the Realme which had endured so many calamities and miseries, where-with it was greatly impouerished, should be grownerich againe, and better prouided to resist any violence that should be offered: yet could not the graue and strong perswasions of so wise and well experienced a Prince, take such deepe rooting in the heart of this yong King, but that thorow his owne ambitious desire to make himselfe great, and the manifolde reasons alleged by sundrie of his aduisants, partly to flatter him in his owne honour, but more especially to serue theyr owneturne, they were quickly plucked vppe againe, and hee fully resolued to enter into a warre, which of all other was thought most daungerous, and which wrought as straunge effectes, as much varietie, and as singular alterations and chaunges, as any other whatsoeuer.

Charles the
eighth succee-
ded his fa-
ther Lewis
in the kings-
dome of
France.

All which to the ende they may bee the better vnderstood, it shall bee verie conuenient to rippe vp the matter from the beginning, and in as fewe words as may bee, to shewe the originall of so great trouble, as afterwardes ensued.

Charles the eighth King of Fraunce pretending a title to the Kingdome of Naples, as heire to Reynard Duke of Anjou, was no sooner settled in his kingdome, but he was forthwith enduced by the colourable perswasions of Lewis the D^r of Sforza, who had not long before vsurped the Dukedom of Milan, to put in his claime, and with might and mayne to assay to gette so noble, sorich and renoumed a Diademe. Notwithstanding, for that it was a matter of no small importaunce, it was thought good to haue it thorowly debated in Councell, and to heare the opinions of the wisest and the best exper-

Lewis the
D^r of
Sforza
had
Milan, pre-
sumed
Charles the
eighth to
conquer
Naples.

THE MVFABILITIE

experienced in the lande, who when they had with great maturite of judgement pondered euerie circumstance: as the danger the king was likely to thrust himself into, the infinite treasure that must bee expended: as also what a multitude of valiant mens liues that would cost, before so glorious a victorie could be achiuied, and the difficultie that would be in keeping that beeing once gotten:

*The Kings
Council dis-
suadeth the
King from
the conquest
of Naples.*

they wholly resolued that it was an enterprise in no wise to be attempted. Notwithstanding, the king who was yong, & desirous to eternise his name by some memorable attempt, could in nowise be diuerted, being moued as it were by some diuine instinct, and encouraged by sundrie remonstrances of two of his principall fauorites, called *Vere* and *Briſſonet*, both which were but meane politicks, and of all other most ignorant in militarie affaires. These two were daily

*Vere and
Briſſonet en-
courage the king
to enter Italy*

solicitors of the king, who otherwise was but too willing of himself, to provide all necessaries for his intended voyage, and to set forwarde with as much celerite as possibly might be.

The yonger sort of the French Nobilitie, and such as had least experience, were likewise exceeding desirous to enter Italy by force of Armes, and to shew their valour and noble courage to forraigne Nations. All things seemed to concurre for the furtherance of this happy attempt, save that which was most necessarie, and that was, wise and wel experienced Captaines, and store of siluer and gold, which are accounted as the veines and sinewes of the warres. There were men enough, but such as were most fitte were most vnwilling: the Kings Coffers were emptie, and nothing could bee borrowed but vpon great interest and good assurance. Thus the lets were many, and the meanes to effect any thing with honour, very small: and in the end, if the successse were such as was desired, yet should there be nothing gotten, (as Lewis the eleuenth was wont to say) but infinite trouble and imminent perill, and that with the effusion of much French bloud.

*The King
resolueth to
go to Naples
contrarie to
the opinion of
his counsell.*

The King resoluing to passe into Italy notwithstanding whatsoeuer could be alleged to the contrarie, made a league with *Ferdinando King of Spaine*, with *Maximilian King of the Romanes*, and with *Phillip Archduke of Austria*, and *Duke of Flanders*, as also with the King of *England*, least being occupied in his warres abroade, he might happen to be molested at home by some forraigne enemy; and deferring his iourney vntill the spring following, which should be in the yeare 1493. in the meane while commanded that all things should be in a readinesse, which were requisite for the maintenance of his Armie. All men of vnderstanding wondered at this strange resolution of the King, and the best affected towardes the Crowne of Fraunce did maruailously feare the sequel of so dangerous a iourney.

*The D. of
Milan com-
meth to the French
King.*

The more to encourage the King, and to stirre him vpto prosecute his intended voyage, *Lewis Sforza*, who usurped the Dukedom of *Milan* (as is alreadie sayde) and had beeene the first motioner of this warre, did not onely promise vnto the King all the ayde and furtherance that might be, by his embassadours, but also came himselfe with the Duchesse his wife, very nobly accompanied vnto the King, being at *Aſſe*: where, after some debating of the matter, and clearing of sundrie doubts, the king resolued to passe forward, and so came to *Pavia*, without any let or interruption: from thence he went towards *Sarzana*, being a very strong

OF FRANCE.

strong Castle, and belonging to the *Florentines*, which in the ende was taken and kept by the French. The Citizens of *Florence* being not a little amazed at the *The French Kings prosperous success*, thought it best to offer him all the fauour and kind-
ness that might be, humbly desiring him to come and repole himselfe in their *Citie*, and to refresh his Armie in the rest of their territories, as *Pisa*, *Lyonnia*, *Petravacca*, and *Librafaeta*. Thus had the French gotten the whole state of the *Florentines* into their possession: this bred a maruailous change in *Italy*, and sundrie Citties being wearie of their gouernours, rebelled and chose them new Lords. The *Florentines* themselves considering that the French were growen strong, became their vassales, and conspiring against their Duke, called *Peter de Medices*, droue him out of the City, & tooke whatsoeuer he had, and reserued it for their owne vses. The poore distressed Duke fled to *Venice*, in very miserable *diseas* their estate, where he had much adoo before he could be received. Thus was the *Duke* who in houle of the *Medices* overthrown, which had flourished in great wealth, pow-
er, and authoritie, for the space of 60. yeares: the King departing from *Florence* *flod to Vene-*
nice. came to *Sennes*, and so to *Viterbium*, and from thence to the Castle of *Brachana*.

Although that *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, was at the first but little moued with the comming of the French, yet to preuent the worst, hee had prouided two great and puissant armies: that by sea was lead by his brother *Frederik*: and the other by land, by his sonne *Ferdinando*, with whom were these famous and renowned Captaines, *Virgilius Ursinus*, *Petilian*, and the Lord of *Trenoule*. *Ferdinando* was gotten into *Rome*, and hoped to keepe the Citie against the French King, but the Pope being willing to follow the good fortune of the Conquerour, suffered him to enter: whereupon *Ferdinando* was forced to flie away in the night, and with al possible speede to retire towards *Naples*.

His father *Alphonsus* beeing wonderfully terrified with this heauie newes, and remembred the manifold iniuries offered to the Neapolitans, both by his father and himselfe, though hee had beene a very valiant, couragious, and hardy Prince, yet hee thought it best to yeld to the time, and giuing ouer the *yeildes b his* kingdome into his sonnes hand, with a heauie heart and mournful cheere, say-
Kingdams to
led into Cicilia, with the Queene his mother in law, who was daughter to *Ferdinando* king of *Castile*. Before his departure he was continually tormented with sundrie imaginations, often crying out that the King of *Fraunce* was comming, and that the very houses, trees, and stones in the streets were all become French: *The greas* and so with a passionate minde forooke *Naples*: where by the way wee may obserue one thing, which *Phillip de Comins* noteith as a strange accident, and that *Alphonsus*, is, that in lesse then two yeeres space there were five kings of *Naples*, which were *Ferdinando* the father of *Alphonsus*, *Alphonsus*, *Ferdinando* his sonne, *Charles the First King* eight, king of *Fraunce*, and *Frederik* the brother of the saide *Alphonsus*.

The yong King *Ferdinando* made great preparation to withstand the French, and hauing gathered a strong power, encamped at *Saint Germain*, in the frontiers of his territories, resoluing to stop the passage of the enemie at that place. Notwithstanding the French king marched on with great courage, taking Castles and townes without any resistance: all things seemed to yeld voluntarily vnto him, and to bende at his becke: yea, *Ferdinando* himselfe durst not abide him, though he were strongly fortifyed and encamped in a place of great aduantage:

For

THE MVTABILITIE

*Ferdinando
K. of Naples, flieth
from the French.*

*Naples yeels
deth to the
French king.*

*The speedy
conquest of
the French
King.*

*Charles of
France
crowned King
of Naples.*

*The pride of
the French.*

*Sundry great
princes con-
spire against
the French.*

For assoone as he vnderstood by his espyals, that the French were within two leagues, he fled in very disordered manner towards *Capua*, suffering the French King to enter at his pleasure, and from thence hasted to *Naples*, fearing a revolt among the Citizens, which indeede immediatly ensued vpon the approch of the French: who comming to *Capua*, entred presently vpon composition, and before they came at *Naples* by three leagues, the Citizens sent Embassadors to treat with them, being willing to receiuē the vpon condition, that they should maintaine their ancient priuiledges: which so terrified *Ferdinando*, that he presently tooke sea, and fled to his father in *Civita*. Then was there a generall revolt, and euerie one made court to the French king, who was received with great acclamation and applause of the people: yea, those who were in particular most bounden vnto the house of *Aragon*, and such as had beene their espe- ciali fauourites, were now in an instant wholly turned French: All *Calabria*, *Pewilla*, *Laurentia*, *Turpia*, *Encrenes*, *Tarentum*, & *Monopolis*, set vp the *Flower delis*. Thus did this yong King runne as it were through *Italy*, without any stop or hinderance, neuer staying about the winning of any one towne the space of one day, insomuch as from his departure from *Ast*, vntill his entrie into *Naples*, therewere but foure moneths and nintene dayes: so that hee might say in regard of his speedy conquest, as *Cæsar* somerime saide, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*.

The French King beeing entred into *Naples*, disposed of all things at his pleasure, and seemed nowe to haue attained to his wilshed ende: there was nothing to crosse him, or to stand in his way, but like a conquerour hee com- manded and it was obeyed: wherupon he would needs be crowned King. Which being perfourmed, and the French not standing any longer in feare of any en- mie, they beganneto bee idle and carelesse, and gaue themselues wholly to riot and excessie: They seemed to contemne all others, and scorned the Italians as men of no reckoning, supposing that now they were able to passe through the wholeworld, and that no man durst abide them. So proude, arrogant, and dis- dainesfull were they become, by reason of this so prosperous and happie successe.

When as the King of *France* was growen to this greatnesse, that hee had in a manner all the estate of *Italy* at his commaund: that hee had gotten the King- dome of *Naples*, and was quietly possesled thereof, and thereby was climed to the top of fortunes wheele, so that it seemed that nothing was wanting, to the full accomplishment of all his desired happiness: when as indeed he was most secure and carelesse, and supposed that hee stood without the reach of any mis- fortune: presently the wheele began to turne about, and sundry secret practi- ses were set abroch, to cut short the French proceedings: & in the end a league was concluded, which darkened the faire shining of the *Flower delis*, to proue the French, the variable and vncertaine estate of all things whatsoeuer.

Although *Alphonsus* were driven out of *Italy*, yet did hee continually fight against the French, by procuring as many enemies against him as possibly hee might: hee daily layde before the eyes of other Princes, howe perilous a matter it would bee for them to suffer the King of *France* to grow so great, and sought especially to stirre the Venetians against him. The Turke on the o- ther side threatened them at the request of the Pope, if they would not declare them

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

themselues open enemies vnto him. The King of Spaine began to feare the losse of Sardinia, and Ciesia, and the Emperor grew iealous of his Empyre. All these Princes sent their Ambassadors to *Venice*, and in the end banded, with one consent agaynst the French, who being aduertised hereof, began to bethinke them, *The King of France*, how they might returne into *France*. And resoluing prently to retyre from *Naples*, set all things in as good order as might bee, and so dislodged, purposing *first to get* to returne by the same way that they came. Sundrie Cities and good Townes *out of Italy*, vnderstanding of the league, began to revolt forthwith, and to pull downe the Armes of *Fraunce*, which not long before they had so hastily set vp, and to place those of *Aragon* in their stead. Thus began fortune to frowne, and to looke an other way, and to abandon the French on all sides. *Sundry cities rebel against the French.*

The King being as desirous now to get to *Paris*, as hee was before to conquer *Naples*, marched toward *Rome* with some nine hundred men at armes, and eight or nine thousand footmen, Switzers, Almalnes, and French. But the Pope hearing of his comming fled to *Padoua*, so that he entred without any resistance: but *first to get* he staid not long there, for intending to make at the haft that might be, he remoued to *Sennet*, and from thence to *Pisa*, still passing forward though verie slowly, by reason of the euil waies. By this time had the Venetians gathered a strong power, wherwith they meant to stop his passage. And hauing appointed *Francis Gonzaga* Marques of *Mantua*, for their generall, with whom they ioyned two Venetian Lieutenants, or *Providors*, *Melchior Creusano*, and *Luke Pisano*, commaunded them to put themselues betwene home and the French, and if it were possible to stay the King, and force him to pay the Almendate for the *tian forces*; *the Marques of Adam Gonzaga, general of the Venetians.* harme he had done to the Italian Nation.

Gonzaga being a lusty yong Gentleman, & desirous to winnow me, by some memorable act, hauing intelligence by his espials, that the French marched toward *Foro Novo*, sent his light horsemen before vnder the conduct of *Nicholas Annonio*, a Sclavonian, to stay the enemie with light skirmishes, vntill he might ouertake them with the strength of his armie: who readily accomplishing the commandement of the generall, hasted forward with great speed, & taking the French avantgard at aduantage, slue many of them, and forced the rest to retire to their strength. The king ouertaking his vantgard, encamped at *Foro Novo*, hard by the riuier of *Terro*. The marques was encamped on the other side, right in the way that the French men should passe: so that the King seeing there was no remedie, but that he must needs fight, and open the way by the dint of the *The battell of Terro*, disposed of his army in as warlike maner as he could, and resolued as that day to try the vittermost of his fortune. And being mounted vpon a braue and lusty courser enironed with 7. yong gentlemen of approued fidelity & prowes, armed in all points like vnto himself, rode about his ranks to encourage his soldiers, who with their cheerful countenances seemed to assure him of the victorie, and with the hazard of their owne liues, to defend him from the violence of his enemies. The Bastard of *Burbon* in whom he reposeth a speciall trust, with *The order of Robinet Frameſell*, the valiaunt conductour of the Duke of *Orleance* his men at *the French Armes*, enironed him with their companyes of horsemen on both sydes. *armes.* The Rerewardes was ledde by *Faix*, a Noble man of *Ghent*, and *Seynour de Trimonille*, and with them was there a great troupe of men at Armes.

THE MVTABILITIE

the Switzers and Almaines, in whom consisted the strength of the battaile, gat-
ted the Ordinance, which being drawne with equall pace close to the bataille-
jon of the footmen, was placed right in the front of the enemie. The Marechall
Guy, and Tribulus a man of great fame and experience in the warres, marched be-
fore with certaine light horsemen, to lead the way to them which followed.

The Marques leeing the French come downe from *Foro Naro*, in array of
the order of battaile, quickly arraunged his men, and diuiding them into nine battaillons,
as well for the mutuall succour each of other, as thereby to assaile the French
on all sides, and intended to abide the comming of his enemies. In the first bat-
taile was *Petro Dado*, a Venetian, with sixe hundred Greeke horsemen, and al-
most as many Archers on horsebacke, who were appointed to compasse the hills,
and to assaile the enemie on the backe. The second battaile was led by the earle
Giazza, consisting of sixe hundred men of Armes, and three thousand Almaine
and Italiane footemen. The Generall himselfe with his Uncle *Radulph* and
Ranuccio Farnese, with fiftie hundred men of Armes, and as many Archers, with
foure thousand footemen, tooke vpon him to encounter with the middle bat-
taile, wherein wasthe Kings owne person. The fourth battaile was assigned to
Fortebraccio de Montoni, who was commaunded to charge the Rerewarde.
Three other battailes were appoynted to *Athonie de Feltri*, *Annibal Bentivoglio*,
and *Galeazzo Palavicini*, which should serue to ayde and succour where there
was most need. The eighthe and ninth battaile were likewise prouided against all
vncertaine chances which might ensue.

*The hardie
encounter of
both armes,*
Each armie being thus readie raunged, awayred the signall of the battaile:
which was no sooner given, but they ranne together with great surie, the trumpetes sounded, the drummes stroke vp, the great Ordinance thundered from
either side, and all sorts fought verie couragiously. But the *Estradiots*, who had
beene repelled by the French men of armes, espying the Kings baggage (which
by counsaile of *Tribulus* had beene obiectet to the enemie, to the ende that
hee beeing busie about the spoyle, a more readie and easie passage might bee
opened for the King), flung out of their rankes, and fell to ryfing in most
greddie manner. Which thing (in the opinion of all men) turned to the great
good of the French: who otherwile had beene in maruaylous danger to haue
beene overthrowne at that encounter. The Marques fought valiantly, and
pear eing through the middest of the horsemen hard to the Ordinance, over-
threw a great bande of Gascons, which were appoynted to guard them. The
French being encouraged with the presence of their king, laide about them like
men, and the Switzers beeing promised double pay, like Tygres, rare and rent
in peeces as manie as fell into theyr handes. And had not the earle of *Petilia* at
that present escaped from the French, and by comming to the flying Italians,
with all the forceable reasons hee coulde, perswaded them to renew the fight,
the whole power of the Venetians had beene vterly ouerthrowne.

*The French
armyes being well wearied with a long and bloody fight, they sounded the
Kloofiball retreate. The French had lost all their baggage, and the riches of Naples, which
his baggage, was going into France, was taken by the Italiane souldiours: a great number
of their brauest men were slaine, and amongst others the bastarde of *Burbon*,
a man of surpassing great valour. The King himselfe, hauing likewise lost*

all his plate and household stuffe, was in extreme peril, and had vndoubtedly bin taken, had it not beene for the excellencie of his horse, which was a cole black, with one eye. And although he gat the victorie, and remained maister of the field, yet were his losses verie great, and farre surmounted the gaine he had gotten in that long and wearie voyage. He was constrained to lie the night following in a simple cottage, and all his great Lords were lodged round about him in the open fields, who had nothing to care, nor any chaunge of apparel to put on: So that they resolued to dislodge in the dead of the night, and with al speed to retouer *Af*. The Armie was sore affrighted, and every man coueted to bee in the Vaungard, supposing thereby to be furthest from daunger, and nearest vnto places of safest retreat. And thus marching forward intumultuous maner, *Italie*, with much ado got to *Af*, where they staid not long, but went to *Thurin*, and so to *Lions*.

*The distress
of the French
King.*

*The French
run out of
Italie.*

1496

The king was no sooner in *France*, but all things went backewarde in *Italie*, all places revolted, and well was he that could first tear in peeces the *Flower de Lis*. Whosocuer had beene friends before, now became enemies, and nothing was so hastily gayned, but it was as speedily lost. And the French Nation, who not long before had beene the terror of the Turke, the Pope, the Emperor, the Venerians, and in a maner of al *Europe*, were now in nothing more famous, then in their dishonourable flight out of *Italie*, leauing vnto posteritie a notable example of the chaunge and mutabilerie of these worldly assayres. And as it vsually falleth out, if fortune begin once to chaunge, it neuer ceaseth vntill it haue throwne a man groueling to the ground: so it fared with this king, who began to decline a pace, and to be crossed euerie day more then other. His yong sonne the Duke of *Orleans*, began to be desperately sicke, and so continued languishing, vntill at last he died, wherewith his father was immeasurably greeued, and from that time forwards nothing thriued that he tooke in hand: his friends forsooke him, and his enemies dayly increased, and almost all matters stoode in verie bad tearmes. Euill newes was brought from every corner, and the worst of all other was this: death suddenly sendeth forth a messenger to summon him to appeare before him, and to give an account of his stewardship. For as he was in a Gallerie at *Ambois*, looking vpon such as played at tennis, hee was suddenly stroken with an Apoplexie, and liued not past some five or sixe houres after, but yeelded vp the ghost, 1497. hauing reigned fourteene yeares. And albeit he were a very mighty Prince, and had exceeding many goodly Castels, beautifull houses, and stately Pallaces, and had conquered so many earledomes, Marquesats, Dukedoms, and Kingdomes: had made all *Italie* to stoope, and bend at his becke, had triumphed at *Naples*, and atchieued so glorious a conquest, and that so easily, yea, & almost without drawing of his sword, so that hee was now become one of the most redoubted worthies of the world, yet did hee ende his dayes on the sudden, and died in a verie miserable and beggerly place: which sheweth the lamentable estate of all sorts, and that the most mighty Potentates, are subiect to a maruellous chaunge and alteration.

*The death of
the yong D.
of Orleans.*

*The sudden
death of
Charles the
8. King of
France.*

1497

C H A P . III.

Lewis is the 12. King of France, entred Italy, conquereth Millan, taketh the Duke therof prisoner. He ioyneth with the Spanish King to conquer Naples, who expelleth him, and keepeth his kindeome for himselfe. The battaile of Rauenna. The Switzers draine the French out of Millan. The death of King Lewis.

Lewis D. of
Orlances, K.
of France.



After the decease of Charles, Lewis Duke of Orlance, and next heire to the Crowne, succeeded in the kingdome, who entituled himselfe king of Jerusalem, Naples, and Cisl, and Duke of Millan, intending to conquer the Dukedom, and for that purpose prouided all things necessarie, with all the speed that might be. But by reason of the former kings expenses, he foud small store of treasure: so that for to furnish himselfe, he set to sale all the offices of France, except such as were iudicall: a daungerous practice, and none of the least occasion, of that great confusion, which afterwardes ensued.

Lewis D. of Millan for-
sakes the French king.

Lewis Duke of Millan feared the Venetians more then the French, and therfore ioyned with the Florentines, to recouer Pisa. But hee erred exceedingly herein: for Lewis of Fraunce having made peace with other Princes, bent all his forces agaynst Millan, with whom also the Venetians ioyned in the ende. Whereat the Duke was maruellously astonished; and began to fortifie his owne territories, so strongly as hee might. But hee putting those in trust, who were in most fauour, and not such as had the greatest vertue, and fidelite, (too common a fault among great estates) lost one thing after another, and in a short space all things going backewarde, hee was forced to foriske Millan, and flie to the castell, by reason the Citie was yeelded to the French. Which ioyfull newes beeing brought vnto the King, who was then at Lions, hee determined forthwith to passe in person ouer the Alps: and being in Italy, compounded with all the chiefe estates there, and did in a maner whatsoeuer he listed.

The French
K. goes to
Millan.

The D. of
Millan was
ken prisoner.

The misera-
ble end of the
D. of Mil-
lan.

The King having remained a while in the Duchie of Millan, and taken such order for his affayres there, as he liked best, returned home, leauing the Cardinall of Ambois for his Lieutenant in those quarters. But he was no sooner departed, but the Cittie began to revolt, and tooke part with their olde Duke. Howbeit the Switzers, in whom he reposeth especiall confidence, and by whose valour, hee verily perswaded himselfe, hee shoulde bee able to maintaine his quarell agaynst his enemyes, betrayed him to the French, who sent him prisoner to the King at Lions. Then there was a maruellous concourse of people assembled to beholde this captiue Duke, who not long before in fame, dignitie, and renowme, had beene equall to anie Prince in Italie: The King woulde not vouchsafe to see him, but sent him to prison vnto the Castell of Locces, where hee continued for the space of tenne yeares, and there in verie miserable manner ended his life. And thus was this Noble Duke another argument of the mutabilitie and chaunge of frowarde fortune.

Now

Now was the French King wholly set vpon the conquest of Naples: and least hee might any wayes bee hindered, he thought it conuenient to procure Ferdinand King of Spain to sygne with him, who was easly drawne there to, and the better to countenaunce the matter, pretended a title whereby hee would prove himselfe rightfull heire to the Neapolitan Crowne. Ferdinand Kings ryng King of Naples, beeing wonderfullie dismayed heerewith, yceded vpon for the conquestiōn to the King of Fraunce, and so his Kingdome was diuided betwēne the French and Spanish Kings: which two Princes could not long agree, but falling at dissencion bwēne themselves, there were manie sharpe bickerings, the French still going by the woorst w^t Monsieur de La Palisse, and divers others were taken prisoners, and Monsieur de Nemours was slaine by the Spaniardes, vnder the leading of the great Consul, who, albeit there were a wearie of peace, and an abstinenēe of warre constittid; yet woulde hee take no knowledge thereto, but proceeded still in the warres, and so brought the whole Kingdome of Naples vnder the Spanish yoke. The Spaniards drine the French out of Naples.

The King of France hearing of all this, was not a little grieved in his minde, but there was no remedie but patience, nor any wayes to doo any good, but by force. Wherupon he sent new armes into Italie, with a purpose to repayre his former losses: but a composition was made, and all the warre begonne to bee diverted toward the Venetians, who were brought to manye grete extremities. But by reason the Pope beganne to growe jealous of his owne, hee forsooke the French, and ioyned with the Venetians, taking them into his protection. Wherupon the French king thought it best, to let the Venetians returned hom. Notwithstanding hee quickly smelling out the fetches of his bis protection late reconciled enemie, ioyned againe with the Emperour, and sendeth Monsieur de Chasson into Italie, with a strong power: who with the Prince of Hennault ouerthrew the Venetians, and tooke Lutunio, Muntifilice, and manie other places. Not long after, by reason of the death of Monsieur de Chasson, Gaeton de Foix, a valiaunt young Gentleman, was sent into Italie to bee Generall ouer the French forces: who hauing intelligence that the power of the Spaniardes was comming downe to succour Marke Anthony de Colonna, whom hee besieged in Ravenna, fearing the irruption of those within the Towne, brake vp his siege, and withdrew his forces three miles off, towards the armie of his enemies, with whom for that hee intended to fight, he marshalled the troupes as followeth.

The vanguard wherein was seuen hundred men of armes, besides the maines footmen, was led by the Duke of Ferrars, and the Seneschal of Normandy. Neere vnto them were arraigned the footmen of the middle bataile, which amounted to the number of eight thousande French, vnder the conduct of Monsieur de Allegres. The Rerward was composed of five hundred Italiens, ouer whom commaunded Frederick de Bafuolo. This battaile was flanked both by the archers on horsebacke, and by the light horsmen, being in all three thousand. Behind al these ciquidrons, which were so placed as they rather resembled a croysant, or new Moone then any thing else, were six hundred men of armes,

THE MVTABILITIE

CHAP. III.

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Now

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Lewis of Fraunce hearing of all this, was not a little greeued in his minde: but there was no remedie but patience, nor any wayes to doo any good, but by force. Wherupon he sent new armes into Italie, with a purpose to repayre his former losses: but a composition was made, and all the warre begonne to bee diverted towarde the Venetians, who were brought to marueulous great extremities. But by reason the Pope beganne to growe jealous of his owne, hee forsooke the French, and ioyned with the Venetians, *The Pope taking them into his protection.* Wherupon the French King thought it best, *left the Venetians* to desist from any further proceedings: and so entring leauge with the Pope, returned hom. Notwithstanding hee quickly smelling out the fetches of his late reconciled enemy, ioyned againe with the Emperour, and sendeth Monsieur de Chaumont into Italie, with a strong power: who with the Prince of Hennault ouerthrew the Venetians, and tooke Zara, Mounfiliice, and manie other places. Not long after, by reason of the death of Monsieur de Chaumont, Gaffier de Foix, a valiaunt young Gentleman, was sent into Italie to bee Generall ouer the French forces: who hauing intelligence that the power of the Spaniardes was comming downe to succour Marke Anthony de Colonna, whom hee besieged in Rauenna, fearing the irruption of those within the Towne, brake vp his siege, and withdewe his forces three miles of, towards the heardme of his enemies, with whom for that hee intended to fight, he marshalled the troupes as followeth.

The vaingard wherein was seven hundred men of armes, besides the maines footmen, was led by the Duke of Ferrara, and the Seneschal of Normandy. *Rauenna.* *The battle of Allesges.* Neere vnto them were arraunged the footmen of the middle battaile, which amounted to the number of eight thousande French, vnder the conduct of Monsieur de Allegres. The Rereward was composed of five hundred Italiens, ouer whom commaunded Frederick de Bonafo. This battaile was flanked both by the archers on horsebacke, and by the light horsemens, being in all three thousand. Behind al these esquadrons, which were so placed as they rather resembled a croysant, or new Moone then any thing else, were six hundred men of armes,

THE MVTABILITIE

led by *Seygneur de la Palice*, and *Cardinall Sanguerina*. *Monsieur de Foix* had made choyce of no peculiare charge for himselfe; but taking ouer sume partie of the valiantest Gentlemen, purposed to haue an eyre to euery place, and to be ready to helpe, where most neede was. In this warlike maner he marched towards his enemies, whom he found strongly encamped by a Riuers side: who being certified of the approach of the French, had thus raunged their battailes. In the vanguard were eight hundred men of Armes, and fiftie thousand footmen, vnder the leading of *Fabrizio de Colonna*, high Constable of Naples. In the middle bataile were sixe hundred men of Armes, flanked with four thousand footeemen, whose principall leader was the Viceroy himselfe, and with him were the Marques of Palude, and the Popes legate, called *Colomb de Medin*. The Rerewarde was conducted by *Cavallier a Spaniard*. In which bataile were four hundred men of Armes, and four thousand footeemen. The light horsemen commanded by *Danilos the Marques of Pescara* (a very young man, but of passing great hope) who guarded the right side of the footeemen. *Peter de Narvaez* the General of the Spanish footeemen would not tie himselfe to any certaine place, but determined to helpe where most neede required. And in this order they expected the comming of their enemies, who by this time were aduancid verie neare, and the skirmish began to grow hore on both sides. The fight continued long, and many were slaine: but the Spanish troupes beeing maruaylously storne, and scattered with the French Ordinance, could not endure before the men of Armes of Fraunce. For *Fabrizio de Colonna* beeing taken by the Souldiers of the Duke of Ferrara, the Viceroy, and *Cavallier* never staid any further tryall of theyr fortune, but fled amaine, leauing the Marques of Pescara, and the Marques of Palude, at the mercie of their enemies. Although the horsemen were ouerthowme, yet the Spanish footeemen fought valiancily, and with incredible fiercenesse maintained the bataile for a long tyme: but being wearied in the ende, and not able any longer to endure, they began to give ground, yet so, as they rather seemed to retyre, thent to bee driven out of the field, which *Nassau* beholding rather defyred to die then live, and therfore not departing out of the bataile, hee suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner.

The Spaniards ouerthrown at Ravenna by the French.

Nassau taken prisoner.

But when as *Monsieur de Foix* could not abide to see Spanish footeemen to go away in such souldier-like maner, with their rankes vnbroken, hee in a great furie charged them in the bataile, with a troupe of horsemen: but beeing ouerthrown from his horfe, was presently slaine with a Pike, which was thrust into his side, and so died most unforunately, when hee had gotten a most glorious and honourable victorie. The Lord *Lautrec* (his cousin Germaine) being hurt with about twentie wounds, lay besydes him almost dead, but beeing succoured in time, was afterwards recovered. The number that was slaine on both sides, were well neare tenne thousand persons: the thirde part of which were Frenchmen, whose losse was farre the greater by reason of the death of *Foix*, with whom the courage, strength, life and fiercenesse of that army was in a manner extinguished: howbeit they entered *Ravenna*, which they sacked and spoylede, and tooke sundrie other Cities, raunging vp and downe at theyre owne pleasure.

Gaston de Foix general of the French army slaine after he had gotten the victory.

With about twentie wounds, lay besydes him almost dead, but beeing succoured in time, was afterwards recovered. The number that was slaine on both sides, were well neare tenne thousand persons: the thirde part of which were Frenchmen, whose losse was farre the greater by reason of the death of *Foix*, with whom the courage, strength, life and fiercenesse of that army was in a manner extinguished: howbeit they entered *Ravenna*, which they sacked and spoylede, and tooke sundrie other Cities, raunging vp and downe at theyre owne pleasure.

Ravenna sacked and spoylede.

But

But presently they began to be afflicted with newe crosses: for the Switzers passing the Alpes, and ioyning with the Venetians, tooke Cremona and Berga ^{To Svit-}
ma, and approaching Milan, Trivisio being without hope to defende the Cittie, was expell
secretly stolne away into Piemont: and vpon the newes of his departure, Parma, ^{the French}
Placentia, Bologna, and almost all Romagna returned to the Pope, and Cremona ^{of Mila-}
n
was renolled from the French, choosing Fregoso, who had beeene generall of
the Venetian armie, for their Duke. Thus the French Kings affaires began to ^{to quide, ad T}
be quailed in Italy: and by reason the king of England was nowe ready to enter ^{rebus, dicitur}
France, he was compelled to looke to the defence of his owne countrey, and to ^{The death of}
suffer the Switzers to take their pleasure in Milan. But the French King recon- ^{Louis the}
ciling himself with England, married the Kings sister, with whom he liued not swelvishly ^{three moneths}
but died at Paris 1514. after he had reigned seauenenteen yeeres of France.
and was buried at Saint Denis.

Francis the first, King of France, winneth Milan from the Emperor. *Elegy and Oration*:
he besiegeth Parma, and is taken prisoner. He is sent into Spaine. A league made against
the Emperor. The French King is delivred, and falleth out with the Emperor. He
dies at Rambouiller.



Ex iste twelfth was no sooner deceased, but Francis Duke of *Francis the*
Angouleme succeeded in the Kingdome, who continuing first King of
the former quarrell for the Dukedom of Milan, and king-
dome of Naples, left no stone unroled to bring his desires to
pass: but forthwith there approached many impediments,
and sundrie blocks were cast in his way, which maruailously
altered his courle, & extremely crost all his desaignements:
for the Emperor Maximilian growing aged, and beeinge wearie with the bur-
then of the Empire, sent Embassadors to the Electors, and to the Pope, to de-
sire them to choose Charles of Austria and king of Spaine, for their Emperor:
but the French King thinking him to be mightie enough already, labored by all
possible meanes to hinder that election. Before that anything could be accom-
plished, Maximilian died: whereupon the French and Spanish kings became *The King of*
earnest competitors, and each endeavored towyn the Goale from other: The *rebus, dicitur*
French King was put in some hope by the faire promises of the marquess of *Emperor.*
Brandenburgo, one of the electors: howbeit, in the ende Charles of Austria
was chosen, which spited Francis to the heart. And now hee daily picked quar- *Charles K.*
rels at the Emperor, and at last fel flat out with him: for being a Prince of great *Spaine*
courage, wife, industrious, rich, and ambitious, hee in a sort disdained that the *chosen Em*
yong king of Spaine should be preferred before him; and therefore hee present-
ly hired Switzers, who for money became his mercenaries, and sent Monsieur de *Em*
Lantrech to besiege Milan, which was valiantly kept by Prospero Colonna. The
rumour whereof being spread beyond the Alps, caused Antonio de Lantrech to fort-
ifie Pavia: so that now alreadie began to bee in an vprore, and the French kings
comming was greatly feared: for that hee was a Prince vniuersally furnished
with

THE MVTABELITIE

*The great commendation of France against his
enemies.* with all royll veruities, and fit to enterprize great matters: And understanding that the imperiall power had no onely expellid the French men out of the Duchie of Millan, but shortly entered France, and by besieging of Marseilles in Provence, seemed to dare him within his awne dominions, hee gathered a strong power, and marched swardes his enemies with all spedde: who hearing of his comming, brake vp their siege, and hasted to *Loy*, whom the king purposed so

The King of France to the gates of Millan. that the emperials were no sooner entred into *Millan*, but that hee was hard at the gates: where hee stayed not long, but that the Citie was yeelded vnto him, the imperiall forces forsaking it, and flying to *Loy* after a very tumultuous and disordered sort.

The King to Loy. The King vied the Citizens verie graciously, and having somewhat reposid himselfe, and refreshed his wearie troupes, marched diucreately to *Pavia*, wherein was *Antonio de Lena*, with fift thousand Lanquenets, fift hundred Spanish footmen, with two corners of horsemen. The king encamped before the towne, and besieged it very straightly: the emperials beeing aduertised heereof, gathered all theyr forces together, and having an army wherein were scante hundred men of armes, and as many horsemen, a thousande Italian horsemen, and aboue sixtene thousand footmen, Spaniardes and Almans, they sent forwarde from *Loy* with a full resolution to remoue the siege or to fight with the French, and hazard all vpon a bataile. The King was no sooner certified hereof, but that sending for al his Capaines and men of war, hee folliy determined to continue his siege, and to expect the comming of his enemie, whatioever conde bee alledged to the contrary, often affirming that hee hadde rather dye then to stirre one foote before hee had taken the Citie.

The emperials Capaines to Pavia. The emperials Capaines beeing driven into great necessarie for want of money and other necessaries, and having much adoo to pacifie theyr soldiours, thought it best to vse expedition, considering that it was impossible for them to continue long, their men growing mutinous for want of pay: and therupon as those that stode in very desperate estate, hasted to inuade the French, who prepared with great courage to meeete them: they were exceedingly encouraged by the presence of theyr King, who shoulde becan eye wittnesse of theyr valour and prowesse.

The marquesse of Pescara to Pavia. The marquesse of *Pescara* with three thousande Spanish footemen assayled the French trenches, where hee slew fiftieth men, and poisoned three pieces of great ordynance.

This unexpected accident. This unexpected accident distraied many of the French soldiours, and therather, for that the Admirall, who carried the cheefaway in the Army next vnto the king, was hurt in the thigh with a shotte, and was carried to *Placentia* to bee cured of his wounds.

Sixtene hundred Grifous to Pavia. Much confusion beganne nowe to growe among the Kings Soldiours, and many of his mercenaries or hyred soldiours, departed before the bataile, beeing called home for the defence of theyr owne Countrey, and the number which was least, was farre lesse then indeed it was reported vnto the King, so that the Emperiales, spying theyr aduantage, sent forwarde, and with surpaſſing courage inuaded the Kings Campe in the dead of the night, hauing

hauing couered their armour with whole shirts, the better to discerne one another. Their army was diuided into four Battalions, the first consisting of sixe thousand Almains, Spaniards, and Italians, was led by the marquesse of Guasco, a valiant yong Gentleman, and of great towardnesse in the warres. The second consisting wholly of Spaniards, was conducted by the Marquesse of Pescara, who commanded as principall in the army: in the third and fourth battailes were the Dukes of Bourbon and Laney, who went as resolutely to the charge as any others.

The King being certified of their approch, and hauning ordered his troupes in as warlike manner as might bee deuiled, couragiouly prepared himself for the encounter: both armies were no sooner met, but the fight grew very terrible on both sides, each partie doing his best for the glorie of their nation, and for the obtaining of an entire victorie.

The King like a valiant captaine and noble souldier, fought couragiouly, and forced the marquesse of Pescara to gite ground, whereas hee being endangered to loose all, sent to the Viceroy, who had the leading of the formost battaile, to come to his succors, who vnderstanding in what danger the marquesse was, furiously set on the Switzers, who that day answered not the kings expectation, & breaking their array, wholly defea-
*The King of France was
valour of the King.*
ted them in a momet. Then appeared the misery of the French, and the king himselfe was forthwith in imminent perill; albeit he fought manfully, and was seconded with a valiant troupe of French Nobilitie, who did their vttermost for their owne securitie and honor of their country: yet hauing the marquesse in his front, and Antonio de Lena, who was nowe issued out of Pauls with al his forces, on his backe, after he had beeene sore weareied and greeuously wounded, both in the face and hand, and had his horse killed vnder him, hee was forced to yeelde to ffe common Souldiers which knew him not: but shortly after the Viceroy passing by, the king called vnto him, and making himself knowne, was with great reverence receiued, as *Casars* prisoner.

Thus was the French king, who not long before had beeene in so florishing estate, commanding not onely ouer al France, but also a great part of Italy, being so mighty, rich, and puissant, that hee was dreaded of all his neighbor princes, subiect to a maruailous change and alteration, being made first a prisoner to *The King of France was
ken prisoner.*
*The great
prisoner into
Spains.*

common souldiers, and conuaied from one place to another, vntill at length he came into Spaine, hauing left all his army to the mercie of their enemies, who slew of them well neete to the number of 10000, and among them there perished twentie of the greatest of the French Nobilitie, as *Bonner*, *Chamony*, *Monsieur de la palissa*, *Tremoile*, *Obiony*, and sundry others of especiall account, as *The great Henry the king of Navarre*, *Renee the bastard of Savoy*, *Duke Membrany*, *Francis of flanger of Bourbon*, *Earle of Saint Paul*, *Biron*, *Imbercourt*, *Floranges Colonell of the Switzers*, with a great number of especiall account were taken prisoners. The Duke *Nobilitie*, of *Alanson* escaped this bloody conflict, and recovered France with a mighty troupe of men of armes, who serued for messengers of this wofull newes.

The emperials lost not past some 700. men, and among them no man of any especiall account, but onely *Ferdinando Castriota*, the marquesse of *Saint Angelo*. The Spaniards were maruailously enriched with this victorie, for neuer had so few souldiers so great a bootie. The gold, siluer, and precious moueables of the French

THE MVABILITIE

French Nobilitie, were that day diuided among their enemies, and euerie Spanish bisenes seemed to walke in a world of wealth, brauing it out in most superbious manner, with the spoyles of the Flower de l'is.

All Europe was mightily dismayed with the newes of this victorie, and all estates beganne to grow ialous of the Emperials greatnesse.

The Venetians of all others thought themselves most nearely touched therewith, and therefore they offered to ioyne with the Pope, and to hire a ten thousand Switzers to defende Italy against the Emperials, hoping that the Lady Regent of France, the Duke of Ferrara, and many other Princes would ioyne with them against their common enimie. In the meane time the King of France was (as is alreadie declared) transported into Spaine, and sent vp into the Castle of Madrill. This was no doubt a bitter receipt, and a sharpe corrosive to this magnanimous prince, who had not been vied to be confined in so narrow a roume: but patience with hope was his best comfort, for the Emperour would not see him, much lesse minister any matter of consolation in that his wofull distresse, neither yet did he

*The moderat
tion of
Charles the
ff.*

seeme to shewe any exterrall signes of ioy for so glorious a victorie: he prohibited bonefires, ringing of belles, and such like accustomed solemnities, saying that it might bee seemely to vse outwardre rejoycings for victories against the Turks, Sarrazins, and other infidels, but not against christian Princes.

The Emperours Councell were long before they could well tell what to do with this prisoner, they beeing distracted into diuers opinions: but in the ende it was fully concluded to make as great a gaine of him as might bee, and therefore they earnestly pressed him to yeeld ouer all his claime and title, to Burgundy, Millan, and Naples: besides, hee was bound to pay a huge summe of money for his ransome, and to condicend to sundrie other things, and those so great, that no man of iudgement thought hee would bee so good as his word. Yet for assurance the King was contented to marry the Lady Elynor the Emperors sister, and to grant that his two sons, the Dolphin and the Duke of Orleans shuld be left in hofftage for the better performance of the conditions. Now was

*The agree
mēt betweene
the Emperor
and the
french King,*

France brought to a lowe ebbe, and the auncient splendor and gloriethereof mightily obliured: yea, that renownmed Kingdome, which had beeene alwaies accounted the parragon of all Europe, and hadde beeene a terror vnto the Romane monarchy, sat as a desolate widow that had lost her husband, in weeping, wailing, and great lamentation. But shortly after this afflicted countrey began to bee recomforted, and as it were reviued, after it had felt the pangs of death, for the king being once set at libertie and gotten into France, sollicited other Princes, as the Pope, the king of England, the Venetians, and other states to ioyne with him, and made a strong league, and sell flat out with the emperour afresh, notwithstanding all the promises which had beeene made. Then presently ensued new warres, and all Europe was in a sort infected with this contagious humor. Fortune which hadde so extremely crossed the French designements, began to be more fauourable, and to beholdethe king with a smiling countenance, for the Lord Lannach beeing sent into Italy, tooke Bosco, Genes, Alexandria, and Pania from the emperour, maruaylously aduaancing the French affaires.

The emperour beeing vexed at the heart with these newes, complained greeuously

OF FRANCE.

19

greeuously of the king, offering him the Combate, calling him forsworne and <sup>The Emper
our offereith
the combate
to be french
King.</sup> periured prince; the King gave him the lie, and affirmed that he would make it good vpon his body, when and where he durst. Thus did these mightie potentes fight a farre off with their tongues, and their armes in Italy, and other where sought to ruinate and overthrow each other by all possible meaneas. After many conflicts, wherein sometime the emperials, and sometime the French as it were alternatiuely had the better, there was a peace concluded for tenne yeeres: in which time the Emperour in very freendly and louing manner, passed through France, to reppelle certaine tumultuous outrages committed in Flanders. This peace beeing expired, they fell again into new broyles, but they were soone ended: and nowe began France to bee scourged with the English, <sup>A peace bet
weene the
Emperor and
the French
King. 1540</sup> who hauing gotten Bulloigne, wasted their countrey round about. The French king beeing very desirous to impale the English forces, and to keep them from forraging after their wooned manner, rayled certaine sorts round about in the most conuenient places: but whilſt hee was earnestly busied herein, hee so-dainely fell sicke and died 1546. at a place called Rambouillet, hauing raigned 32. yeeres, leauing his sonne to succeede him in all his territories and demissons.

C H A P. V.

Henry the second maketh warre against the Emperour, and taketh Metz and many other townes. The Queen of Hungary innadeth France. The great army of the Emperour for the recouerie of Merz, which was kept by the Duke of Guyle. The Emperor raiseth his sieue. Teroanneis besiged by the Emperials. The King raised a great power to withstand the Emperour. The crueltie of the French in Herault. The bataile of Reuty. The King and the Emperour breake up their armes. Charles the fifth yeldeth over his empire. Rome besieged and taken. King Phillip of Spaine besiegeth Saint Quintins, which he taketh after hee had ouerthrown all the power of France. The original of the Huguenots in France. Callis besieged and taken by the Guyle. Count Egmond overthroweth Monsieur de Termes the Captaine of Callis. Phillip King of Spaine marryeth the French Kings daughter. At whose mariage the King of France is slaine by Montgomery.



Every the second of that name, King of France, was not onely heire of his fathers Kingdome, but also of all royll vertues, and princely qualitieſ. In the beginning of his raigne hee maintained the Scots against the English; but at length a composition beeing made, hee bent all his forces against the Emperour, who at that time madewarre against the Princes of Germany, and hauing gathered a strong power, wherin were 2500 french footmen, 7000. Lansqueneres, 1200. men of armes, besides 2000. horsemen, & as many harquebuziers on horseback, vnder the leading of the Duke of Aumale, ordaining the admirall Annebaut his Vizgerent in France, commanded the Conſtable to march before with the vaungard, who aduanced towards Metz. Thetowne was quickly yeelded vpon ſuch composition.

*Henry the
second King
of France.*

1549
*The King of
France brou-
ght all his
forces against
the Emperur.*

THE VIVABILITE

as pleased the king, and so became annexed to the crowne of France. From thence the king went towardes Strasbourg, where the French would gladly haue entred, but the Citizens would in nowise permit them: howbeit they offered what prouision they were able to spare, but that would hardly suffice notwithstanding, considering the Cittie was very strong, and the people resolutely bent to defende themselves, the King turned towardes Hagenau and VVisbourg, where the Embassadors of the emperiall princes met with him, and desired him that he would enter no further into Germany: With which message although the King was nothing well pleased, yet he made a faire shew, and seemed to take all things well, and returned towards France.

*The Queene
of Hungary
louied an
army to
make France*

The Queene of Hungary the Emperours sister, vnderstanding of the retreat of the French, deuised all the meanes that might bee to impeach them, and to cut off as many as shee could catch at any aduantage: and hauing leauied an army to the number of twelue thousand footmen, & three thousand horse, vnder the leading of the Count Mansfeld and Martyn Marsh, entered the faire fields of the Flower de Lys, which they spoyleyed verie pitifullly. The King beeing aduerised heereof, marched with all speede to relecte his distressed subiects: but the emperials hearing of his resolution, retired speedily, whereupon the King began to cast about how he might conquer the Duchie of Luxembourg, and hauing taken a Castle called Rock, hee laid siege vnto Saint Lehan, Solicure, and Dammill, all which were forthwith yeelded vnto the King. Troy a place of great importance helde out for a time, but in the ende it was gladde to hearken to a composition: for albeit that the valiant Counte Mansfeld hadde put himselfe within the Towne, and had fortified it very strongly, with a resolution to defende it against all men, yet by reason of the cowardlinesse of his Souldiers, he was forced to yeeld to the Constable, and he with sundrie others of especiall account, were carried prisoners to Paris. Then ensued the taking of Ma-mey, Luxembourg, and the Dukedom of Bouillon, by the mareschall of Sedan: Cimay was likewise taken, and the spoyle thereof given to the Souldiers.

*The French
King breas
keib up his
army.*

Thus the French king prospered, gaining many Townes, Castles, and strong holds from the Empire, without any resistance: but his souldiers beeing wearied and diseased, hee was forced to breake vp his campe, and lay them in garrisons, and to expect what course the Emperour would take, to recover his honour and to regaine his townes: who by reason he was occupied in the warres with certaine of the Germaine princes, could not hinder the French proceedings. But he hauing (with much ado) compounded with Maurice, and the rest of the Protestants, employed all his counsels how to recover that which the

1552. French king had taken from him: and hauing perswaded with the Germaine potentates to aide and assist him in his intended enterprise, caused al his old bands which were in Italy, as well Italiens as Spaniards, to repayne to him with all speede: who with the troupes of Lombardy and Piemont passed ouer the Alps, and joyned with the emperiall army, which was assembled in Germany, consisting of Bocheintals, Hungarians, Polonians, Almaines, Wallounes, Cleueners, Flemmings, and Burgonians, to the number of 50000. footmen, and 20000. horse-men, with incredible force of artillerie, and all other warlike prouision.

*The great
army of the
Emperour.* The king of France vnderstanding of the resolution of the Emperour, which was

wastorecouer Metz, and therest of the townes; which had beeene taken from the empire, dispatched the duke of Guise, a man of good experiance in the wars, with commaundement to put himselfe within the Towne, to fortifie it, and to furnish it with al necessarie prouision, the better to endure the siege, & appoyn-
 ted the Rendezous, or place of assembly for therest of his army at S. Michael, a little towne in Lorraine, where there met with him the Conestable, the Duke of Ne-
 uers, the Count Angouyen, the Prince of Conde, the Prince of Conte, the Prince of Annoule, the Vicont of Rhoban, the Mareschall Saint Andrew, Chastillon Collo-
 nell of all the French infanterie, the Count Villars, Bourdillon one of the Ma-
 reschals of the Campe, the Rbinegrave, and Reiroc, with their Regiments of ^{The French} Kings armie.
 Launcequenets, and many other noble Lordes and captaines: In the whole there were some thirtie thousand footmen, French, Almains and Switzers: and about seven or eight thousand horsmen. The Emperor being troubled with the gout, lay long before he attempted any thing, so that October was halfe past, insomuch as the French King seeing the yeare so farre spent, supposed that hee would doo nothing, especially agaynst Metz, which was a place of very great strength, and plentifullie stored with all necessaries. And the rather for that his principall captaines, and chieftaines of greatest experiance disswaded him all that might be, from enterprising any further, vntill some better oportunitie. Notwithstanding, the emperor would not hearken to their counsels, nor be diverted by any meanes, but with all possible speede planted his armie before the towne, in this maner following.

The Duke of Alua was sent before, with the choisest of the emperiall armie, ^{The siege of} whopassing the riuier of Seille, encamped as neare the towne as he could, and ^{Metz,} bestowed sundry of his forces in the strongest forts adioyning. The Spanish companies were lodged at Saint Arnold, and Saint Clement. Certaine troupes of the Almaines were placed at a Bridge called Magny. Don Lewis, D' Anila, cap-
 taine of the Spanish Horsemen, was appoynted at the Hospitall. The Seneschall of Moravia, with the Bohemian Horsemen, encamped at Blery, and the rest at Ollerie, Saint Preich, and other places neare abouts. All things beeing in a readinesse, the emperials beganne to beate the Towne with their great Ordinance, in verie furious sort, and in all hostile maner to annoy the defen-
 dants. The batterie continued long, and yet the harme was but small, neither could the breach be made sufficient for an assault. Whereupon they remoued the Canonto another part of the Citie. And falling to mining, supposed to ouerthrow some peece of the wall with Gunpowder. But the Duke of Guise vnderstanding the drift of his enemes, caused countermynes to bee made, wherein they had not traualied long, but they might heare the noyse and stirring of the Spaniardes, and so were theyr deuises easily preuented. This was no small discouragement to the Emperials, seeing they preuailed not, neyther by one meanes nor other. Besides the season of the yeare grewe ex-
 treame colde, insomuch as the Souldiours which lay in the fieldes, were sore pinched, and many dyed for want of necessaries: so that all sortes beganne to ^{The emperis als weary of} waxewarie of the siege, and inwardly desired to be dismissed. The Almaines ^{the siege.}
 themselues begant to quaile: yet as men that would win some honour, they instantly craued of the Emperour, that he would commaund a sufficient breach

THE MVTABILITIE

to be made, and they would either enter, or loose their liues, for th y were not able to keepe the field any longer. Then began he to be sore greeued, foreseeing the miserable end that would ensue, of that his rash and inconsiderate enterprise, yet would he in no wise consent to raise his siege, but with great perswations animated his souldiours to persist, promising that if he could not make a sufficient breach before the newe yeare, he would breake vp his armie, and licence every man to depart.

This satisfied them for the time, and made them to temporise, & expect their better fortune. And to the ende they might all be assured of his great care to perfourme this: he priuately commaunded the Duke of *Alua* to continue the mines with all diligence. Which charge was so willingly accepted, and so carefully performed, that the pioners ceased neither day nor night. But the season of the yeare was so contrary, and so repugnant, that nothing could bee accomplished as was desired. Besides, the French who were in the Towne, with their often sallying forth, did exceedingly endomage them, and slue many. So that

The emperor resolues to depart from Metz, the 10. of December 1553.

what with the colde, and extremitie of the winter, and the couragious attempts of the French, the Emperours army dayly diminished, and yet nothing to the purpose performed. Which when with intollerable sorrowe and vexation of spirit hee considered, he resolved to depart. And sending away his great Ordinaunce before, with his other weightiest and most troublesome carriages, himselfe followed with the rest of his armie, which was so feble, and so weake with famine and sickenesse, that they were scarce able to go. The Duke of *Newers* was left by the King, to attende the Emperour, and to watch him at euerie turne. VVho carefully executing his masters commaundement, followed the emperials in the taile, and cut off sundrie as they strayed from the grosse of the armie.

The miseraunce of the emperor at their departure from Metz.

*Chastillon Lieutenant to Captaine Bourdillon, was sent to discouer, and to bring some certaintie of the emperors retreate. Who coming to *Pont Camonson*, found that the Count *Egmond* with his regiment was departed, and had left behinde him a most pitifull spectacle of maimed and diseased persons. From thence hee passed ontowards *Metz*. But the Duke of *Alua* and *Brabancen*, were departed from *Metz*, with a great part of the army dislodging in a very strange and disordered maner, without sound of drum, leauing many of their tents with sundry barelles of powder, & much warlike prouision behind them, besids an incredible multitude of lame, sicke, diseased, and impotent persons, as testimonies of their hard fortune.*

The French king being certified by the duke of *Guis*, of all that had passed, was exceeding ioyfull, and seemed to triumph ouer the emperor, who being a Prince that could not well brooke any indignity, sought still to bee revenged.

*The emperor purposed to besiege *Troyanne*, which Francis Memorancy, eldest son of the Constable, accompanied with many valiant capaines, and gentlemen of good qualitie, his followers, repaired to *Troyanne*, purposing by their heroycall and noble acts, to win themselves honour and renowne. The towne being defended with so strong a garrison, and sufficiently prouided of all necessaries, was thought to bee tenable agaynst the strongest enemie*

enemie that was: and therfore the emperials were suffered to do what they listed. Who endeouuring to effect some notable exploit, laboured night and day, and made their approches without any impeachment, placing their batterie vpon a little mount, from whence they might annoy the defendants at their pleasure. They had brought with them all warlike prouision, as powder, shot and all sorts of great and small Ordinance, from sundry townes and castels of Flanders. For this place was so odious vnto all that inhabited neare vnto it, that as soone as it was besieged, not onely the women and little children, ranne thither to behold so gladsome a sight, but in token of their ioyes, they sung songs, with dauncing and leaping, and brought into the campe, corne, beere, bread, sheepe, and beeues, in great abundance.

Anno 1544.
Menses 3, 4
Et 5. 1545.
Sunt annos
DCCXXI E
Juli

*The furious
batterie of
Teraonne.*

Their battery being once planted, they began to beat the towne in such furious sort, that the besieged were exceedingly endauengered, no place being free from imminent perill. Notwithstanding, like men of valour and courage, they resolutely defended themselves, often issuing forth, and fighting with the emperials in their trenches, killed many of them, & poisoning some of their great Ordinance, drew other some into the towne in despite of their enemies. And albeit the emperials were much endamaged herewith, yet were they so readily relieved from other places, and all their wants so diligently supplied, that they easily amended as much in a day, as the French had marrred in a week. So that wanting nothing that might either helpe themselves, or hurt their enemies, they ceased neither day nor night, but thundring continually with the Canon, beat downe the walles, and ouerthrew the Towers and Bulwarks, leaving nothing in a maner vnder which the besieged might shroud themselves. Howbeit they labored continually to repaire the breaches, and as men desperate and carelesse of their owne securitie, they would be most busie where the Canon was most furious, *bringinge earth, dung, fagots, and such like necessarie matter for defence.* Which continuall trauell did maruellously weaken the defendants, and by reason they were no great number, they were forced to be both souldiors and pioners, to watch in the night, and fight in the day, alwayes in action without ceasing or intermission. In the midst of these great extremities, there entred into the towne one called captaine Greille, with a hundred Carabins. Who forcing the enemies Corps de gard, with the losse of a fewe of his men, was readily receiued by the French, who attended his comming with great devotion.

*The courage
of the besieges
ged.*

*Captaine
Greille ens
tretb Teros
anne with
100. Caras
bins.*

The assailants were nothing discurraged herewith, but plied their batterie more hotly then before, shooting for the space of ten dayes togither. And having beaten downe all their flankers, and other places of defence, and therwithall made a reasonable breach of sixtie paces in breadth, prepared to give an assault Collonell, which the French resolued to abide. Then stroke vp the drums, the trumpers souded, the ensignes were displaied, & the emperials marched on, with crying, showting, and after their maner making a terrible noyse & approaching the breach, strived to enter with maruellous furie. The French on the other side valiantly resisted, and with equall courage defended themselves. The fight continued long, and many were slaine on either side. But in the ende the emperial captains, seeing the great mortality of their men, caused them to retire, pulsed, hauing lost many of their brauest, and most forward souldiors.

*The emperials
als are reti-
red.*

THE MVTABILITIE

Brenet and
S. Romain
enter Tercanne
with
300 fresh
souldiers.

Tercanne
surprised by
the emperials
whilst the
French are
talking of a
composition.

Tercanne is
dismantled.

The French
gathereth
a great power
to resist the
Emperor.
Hedyn besie-
ged and won
by the Em-
perials.

The French
kill six
or eight hun-
dred Empe-
rials.

The King of Fraunce vnderstanding of the noble valour of his men, albeit hee feared not the losse of the towne, yet the more to animate them, hee sent a new suplie of three hundred, vnder the leading of Captaine *Brenet*, and Saint *Romain*: who with great hazard and perill gat into the Towne. They without still continued their siege, and whar with rayling forts without, and with vndermining within the ground, they endamaged the besieged morethē before. And hauing after much ado enlarged the breach, and made the ascent so easie, that a man of Armes might passe out and in at pleasure, they cryed to a newe assault. The French being greatly dismayed herewith, and knowing they wanted all necessaryes to defende themselves anie longer, demaunded a parlee, whereto the emperials yeelded. But whilest they were talking, the Almaines and Burgonians entered in sundrie places, and the Spaniardes approached the great breach. And so was the Towne taken without anie resistaunce. The Almaines and Burgonians enraged agaynst the poore French, committed manie barbarous factes, and straunge cruelties, killing and murthering whō soever fel into their hands. *Francis Memorancie* hardly scaped, and was led prisoner to *Binecour*, lieutenant to the emperor. *Martigues*, *Dampier*, *de Losses*, *Baudiment*, *Baylet*, *Saint Roman*, and sundry other great captains, yeelded themselves to such as would take them. The towne was sacked and spoiled: whatsoever was worth any thing, was caried away by the emperials: the emperor comandement it should be dismantled, and the houses fired: so that in short time it was vterly spoiled and defaced.

When as the French King vnderstood of this losse, he was wonderfully grieved, and fearing least the emperor, (who was on the other side as ioifull for the good newes) would follow his fortune, and besiege *Hedyn*, he gathered a strong power of French and Switzers, and made all things ready, with as great celerite as might be, to stop the enemies proceedings, if need required: but it was so long before his troupes could be assembled, that the emperials vnder the leading of the Prince of *Piemont*, were gotten before the towne, which they straightly besieged, & battered on all sides. And for that it was not very well fortisid, it was quickly gained. There were slaine on the French part, *Horatius Farnelius* duke of *Castres*, *Martigues*, *Monville*, *Cizienx*, *Lusignan*, *Dampier*, and diuerse other captains and commaunders. The duke of *Bonillon*, *Rion*, the Count *Villars*, with the baron of *Culan*, were taken prisoners. The King was more and more inwardly vexed to see himselfe thus thwarted. Wherfore assembling his army neere vnto *Amiens* and *Piquenay*, vnder the leading of the Constable, hee waited his opportunity to be revenged of his enemies: who after the taking of *Hedyn*, spoyled the frontiers of *Fraunce*, without pitie or mercie. The French espying theyr aduaantage, set vpon them on the suddaine, and slue seuen or eight hundred, and tooke the duke of *Ascot* prisoner, and almost five hundred others. This losse somewhat abated the pride of the emperiall souldiours, and encouraged the French to attempt greater matters: for they presently marched towards *Baupalme* which was very well manned, & sufficiently appointed of all necessaries, & encamping before the towne, straitly enuironed it on al sides. There were with the Constable, the duks of *Nemours*, of *Vendome*, *Anguien*, *Montpensier*, and the admiral *Chastillon*, with their regiments, amoūting to the nūber of 8. or 9. thousand men.

The

the Rhingrane was collonel of the Lancequenets, with whom was Reisborg, both which had also 4 regiments, divided into twenty ensignes, being in the whole sum 12000, besides fourtay companies of Scots, and two of English, in all not past 1500 men. The Nobilitie and Gentlemen made wel neare three thousand horse, vnder the conduct of La Fagle. Sansac was capaine of the light horse, being in all two thousand, reckoning the fourtay hundred English, who were very valiant souldiers, and of great courage. Monsieur d' Esse was master of the Ordinance, whereof there were in all about a hundred peeces. This mighty army besieged Baupalme, which place was as odious to the French as Teroanne was to the Burgonians. The Constable taking with him 4000 horse, men, and as many footmen, first viewed the towne, as well to see the countenance of those within, as to make chiose of a conuenient place to encampe in. Hansi. eti Baupalme mont was gouernor for the emperor, a man of very great account, hauing with him some twelve ensignes of footmen, and fourtay hundred horse, who vpon the approch of the French, thundred from the towne with their great Ordinance, and falling forth at their gates, skirmished very valiantly. The French seeing the resolution of the defendants, & finding an exceeding want of water, which could not by any meanes be supplied, were enforced to depart, & to deser their siege vntill some other time, hauing first spoiled and wasted all the country round about, and so marched towards Cambray, where hauing summoned the towne, and seeing he could not be suffered to enter, he fired the suburbs, & vsing all kind of hostilitie towards them, tooke certaine little castles and holds neer adioyning. And albeit the emperor being certified of all this, had commaunded the Prince of Piemont, to aide those of Cambray, and to relieu them by all possible meanes: yet the French did in a maner what they listed, and being maisters of the field, helde the emperials verie short, who for that they were not able to encounter them, kept themselves within their strengths, and would not bee drawne to adventure their fortune vpon any occasion which was offered.

The king coconsidering that the emperor did procrastinate, seeking by delaies to spend the time, vntil either the extremity of winter should approch, or his soldi-
ers be wearied with continual toile & tranaile, hauing wonderfully indamaged his enemies by sacking, burning & spoiling all the country ouer, and braued the emperor at home at his owndoore, thinking he had sufficiently reuenged the former wrongs, & performed al things with great honor & renowme, resolued to break vp his army, and to licence his nobles to depart, and to recreat the selues after so long & tedious trauail, placing strong garrisons in sundry frōtier towns, the better to bridle the enemy if he should attempt any thing in his absence.

The emperor was not a little vexed with these French brauados, and enuying the glory of the King, sought for nothing so much as for reuenge, wherfore casting about how he might best effect his desire, he first compassed a mariage betwene Marie Queene of England, and his sonne Philip King of Spaine, thereto to strengthen and fortifie himselfe, the better agaynst Fraunce. VVhich when King Henrie understood, he againe gathered his forces, with all conuenient speede, purposing indeede to preuent the Emperour, or at least to meeete with him as soone as anie oportunitie serued. His whole forces were diuided into three Armies: the first, which consisted of nine thousande footmen, three

*The K. breas
keith up his
camp.*

THE MVTABILITIE

three hundred men of armes, and six hundred light horse, with as many harqueuziers on horseback, was sent into Picardie, vnder the leading of the prince de la Roch sur Ton. In the second were five and twentie ensignes of French footmen: two regiments of Almaines with their Coronels, the Rhinieranc, and Reisberg: and five and twentie ensignes of Switzers, foure hundred men of Armes, and two thousand light horse, ouer whom the Conestable was appointed generall. The third army was led by the Duke of Nevers, wherein were twentie ensignes of French footmen, drawn out of the garrisons of Metz, Verdun, Thonon, & Anouille, Tuoy, and Momedie: two regiments of the Count Rakendalp, and of the Baron of Frontenay, three hundred men of armes, eight hundred light horse, two hundred Pistoliers vnder the leading of the Prince of Conde.

*The fourth
mote successe
of the Kings
armies.*

These three armies entred the emperours dominions at three sundry places, burning, spoiling, and making hauecke after a strange and cruell maner. The Duke of Nevers tooke Ardennes, Lincante, Villancy, besides many other strong Castels, and well fortified places. The Conestable marched towardses Auannes, and caused it to be bruted, that he would besiege it: but vnderstanding that there

was but a slender garrison in Mariembourg, he secretly dispatched the Mareschall of Saint Andrew, with the Switzers, and certaine companies of the French footmen, who approching on the suddaine, enuironed the towne, and kept those within from receyuing of anie newe supplie. Wherewith they being greatlie terrifyed, yelded vnto the Conestable vpon the first summaunce. From thence they passed soorth towardes Dinon, where the Duke incorporating himselfe with an other strong power, brought by the King, layde siege to the Castle, which for that it was verie strong, would not condiscende to anie composition: whereupon the batterie was planted, and the walles were continually beate with thirtie Canons, wherewith the French ouerthrowing the Towers, Bulwarkes, and whatsoeuer might serue for anie defence, made a sufficient breach, and gaue a verie hote assauite, but they were repulsed, by reason of the cowardlynesse of some leaders, who therefore were presentlie cassierd, and discharged of theyr places, and pronounced villains, to their perpetuall infamie, and disgrace. Yet those within being not able to holde out, yelded at last to the kings mercy, and suffred the French to enter peaceably.

1554

As these two armies conquered wheresoeuer they became, and grew verie famous for their noble exploits: so did the Prince de la Roch sur Ton, with his forces prosper exceedingly, and was verie terrible to the emperials, by winning of townes, castels, and strong holds, and by burning and defacing all things without pitie, or mercie.

*The Emper
ror rayfis a
great power.*

The emperour being at Brussells, and hearing of the proceeding of the French, raised a great power, ouer which hee made Generall his Nephew the Duke of Sancy, who suspecting that the French King would besiege Namur, put himselfe in the way betweene the towne and the King, in a very strong and wel fortified place, purposing to diuert the enemy, if possibly he might: which indeede

*The crueltie
of the French
in Henault.*

was the cause that the King turned towards Henault, where the French entred with such fury, that they put all to fire and sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor childe, to the vnspeakeable horror of the inhabitants, who fled on all sides from this violent and outragious tempest. The duke of Sancy followed them at the

the heeles and endamaged them so much as might be, but could not effect any great matter: for the French king still marched forwarde into the Countrey, and tooke the most delectable and pleasant Castle called *Mary mont*, which was *Mary-*
a house of pleasure, and belonged to the Emperours Sister, *Mary Queene of mons taken Hungary*. The King commanded it shold be rased, and utterly defaced in a re-^{and spoyled} uenge of the displeasure she had done him, in burning of his Castles of *Foulem*, ^{by the french,} *bray, Tragny, Baines, Renz, and Banet*. besides, many other places were taken by the French, to the vter vndoing of many thousandes of the poore inhabitants.

Whilst these broyles continued thus hotly betweene the emperials and the French, the marriage betweene *Phillip of Spaine* and *Queene Mary of England* ^{The mariage} was agreed vpon, and immediatly after hee arrived in *England* very nobly accompanied with the Duke of *Alua*, the Counts *de Padille, Rigomes, Egmond*, the ^{age of Philip} *Admirall of Castill*, the marquesse *de Langwillare*, and many other great estates. ^{King of Spaine, with Marie Queen of England.} The King of *France* seeing well inough to what ende all this tended, thought it best to stand vpon his guard, and to haue all things in a readinesse: and therefor hee reuiewed his armies, mustered new Souldiers, gathered mony and all other necessaries, drawing his forces towards those parts that hee most suspected shold be inuaded: and surprising many Castles and strong holds, continu-^{The battaile} ed his course without any interruption, vntil hee came before *Renty*, which ^{of Renty} for that it was a place of very great importance, hee determined to winne it, and the emperor resolute to keepe it. The French hauing planted their siege had so besett the towne, that a conuenient breach was made, and they readie to giue an assault: which when the emperor vnderstood, hee made all possible speed to releue the same, purposing rather to hazard his fortune, then to suffer the French to haue their willes: wherefore hauing chosen out foure thousande of his best shot, with a conuenient number of pikes to backe them, and about foure thousand horsemen, besides foure field peeces, hee commanded them to march towards a wood which was neere adioyning, which he couerte to take if possibly he might. The whole cauallery was ledde by the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the harquebuziers by *Don Fernando de Gonzaga*. There marched also a battaile of *Almaines* along by the wood side, vnder the conduct of *Count John of Nassau*, & the mareschall of *Clene*, which was flanked with a great Hot or Squadron of Reisters, to the number of two thousand horse, vnder the leading of the count *Vulenfort*, who had promised the emperor to march vppon the bellies of the ^{The vaine} French Cauallery, and to trample them vnder his feete: at whose backe were ^{braz of count} *Vulenfort*, some thousand two hundred light horse, with other foure field peeces. These harquebuziers were no sooner entred the wood, but they encountered foure hundred French shot, betweene whom and the emperials there beganne a very hot and furious skirmish.

The Duke of *Guyse* who had taken vpon him to keepe that quarter, seeing with what courage the emperials maintained the fight, supposed they were wel backed, whereupon hee presently sent word to the King, that he imagined the emperor was comming with all his forces, and that there was great likelihood of a battaile as that day: vpon which aduertisement the king forthwith arran-^{ge}ged his troupes in as warlike manner as he might, & sent word to the *Guyse*, that if

THE MVT ABILITIE

if oportunitie serued hee shold accept of the iorney; and hee wold be ready to assist him. Then began the Duke of *Guyse* to encourage his louldiers, and to animate them with the best words he could devise: and putting himselfe in the front of his Regiment, waited his best oportunitie to assaile his enemie. In the meane while the Conestable passed ouer a littler river, with certaine companyes on soote, and the whole bataile of the Switzers, who were wonderfully encouraged with the presence of the King, that had promised to live and die with them, to abouyntayn to greate oportunitie.

The french charges the Emperials. By this time the Emperials were so farre aduaunced, that they had beaten the fourt hundred shot out of the wood, and appeared full in the face of the formost battaileon of the French, and beeinge fauoured by theyr Reisters, approached within two hundred paces of the Duke, who presently commanded to charge them. Whereupon the Duke of *Nemours* with his Regiment of light horse, sette vpon the Reisters in the front, and sent *Forges* the guydon of his compahie, and *Tauanis* to assaile them in the Flanke. So there ensued a hote and furious combate: but in the ende the French were repulsed with the losse of many braume. With which happy successe the emperials were wonderfullly encouraged, perswading themselves that they had gotten an entire victory. But the Duke of *Guyse* and *Tauannes* calling their troupes, and ioyning with the Duke *D' Aunale* and the whole cauallery of light horse, charged the Emperials afresh, and that with such furie, that the Count *Vuluenfort* was wholy defeated; and his Pistoliers quite ouerthrowned, who while they hasted to sauue themselves, ranne vpon the bataile of their Almaines, who by that meanes were exceedingly disordered: so that the Duke of *Nevers* who was placed with his Regiment towards *Renty*, espying a passage laid open, entred as it were at the breach, vpon the Spanish shot, and with such resolution followed his point, that he defeated them in a moment, driving them to run towards the wood to sauue themselves.

Count Vullienfort ouerthrown. There were taken seauenteene ensignes, ffeue Corners, and fourt field peeces. The French pursued their victorie, and slew to the number of some sixe or seauen hundred of these runnawaies, chasing them hard to their trenches. Thus did fortune still fauour the French kings proceeding, and crossed the Emperor almost in all his enterprises.

The king and the Emperor dissolute their armes. After this victorie the Emperor would no more be drawnen to fight, but kept himselfe with all his forces, emparked within his strength: which the French king perceiving, hee determined to retire towards *Montgrell*, to refresh his wearie armie, leauing *Renty* as a thing that wold not bee gotten in haste: where he staid not long but remooued towards *Champaigne*, and hauing fortifiid *Boulain*, and sundrie other stontier Townes, brake vp his Armie, and licensed euerie man to depart: but this was no sooner knowne to the Emperour, but hee taking the oportunitie, sent his sotees to spoyle the frontiers off France, where there was made a pittois spoyle in a short time. At length the Emperour likewise dissolved his troupes, and stuffing his Townes with strong garrisons, thought it best to expect some better oportunitie to accomplish his desires.

Winter was no sooner past, but that the French king, who was somewhat puffed

puffed vp with his former victories, and finding himselfe greeued with newe iniurie, made great preparation for newe broyles, and for more bloody wars then before: and vnderstanding that the confines of France were sore annoyed ^{The Emper} with the Emperiall garrisons, sent Mareschall Saint ^{Andrew and Bourdillon your and the} with a conuenient number, to stop the course of the insolent enemie, and to enter prise further as occasion should bee offered. And albeit there was great ^{French K.} meanes made to reconcile these two mightie potentates, yet nothing could bee effected: for the french King required *Naples, Millan, Burgundy, Piemont, Navarre*, and many other places: and the Emperour would part with nothing, so that the treatie being broken off, warre presently ensued: for the Emperour hauing a power in a readinesse vnder the leading of *Martin Ronsare* the bastard of *Cleve*, inuaded the territories belonging to the *Flower de Lis*, burning, spoylling, and wafting in most outragious manner: but this stormie tempest continued not long, for the emperials began to fal sick of many diseases, and to want victuals, so that they were forced to retire, hauing lost their generall and many others of especiall account. Thus did the Emperour stande still in fortunes disgrace, and nothing seemed to prosper that he tooke in hand, vntill mid *August* following, that shee began to returne her fauour towrdes him, by giuing him as it were some good words, after so many sharpe and bitter checks. At which time *Hansmont* gouernour of *Baupalme*, vnderstanding ^{Hansmont} that a great power of the French were entred into his maisters territorie, vnder the leading of *La Faille*, setting vppon them on the sodaine, slew many of ^{the French,} them, and tooke *La Faille* prisoner, with sundrie other of good account, in somuch as the emperials boasted, that they hadde taken the French Nobilitie in grosse, and not by retaile, and that they neuer wayed them, but tooke them vp-^{and takeib} on their words. ^{their generall prisoner.}

While the emperor and the king were thus busied in the frontiers of *Picardy*, ¹⁵⁵³ their armies vnder the leading of the mareschall *Briffack* and the Duke of *Alua*, sought to annoy each other in *Piemont*. Captaine *Saluoyson* surprised *Casal* in the dead of the night, being one of the strongest and best fortified places in all those quarters: wherein were taken *Figuerot* gouernor of the Towne, and the Count *Lakron*, general of the Almaines, and maruailous store of all necessarie prouision for the warres. *Monsieur de Termes* preuailed mightily in *Italy*, and ouerthrew the emperials at *Senes* with great slaughter and mortalitie: but he being called home, *Strozzi* was appoyned Leutenant in his place, who fighting ^{Casal surpris} with the emperialles was wholly defeated: and *Clermont*, *Moulbazon*, *Blaise* ^{Strozzi o-} with the Collonels of the Switzers were slain, with sundry others, to the number ^{overbrownis} by the Emperials. ^{of}

Thus fortune seemed to play with these two mightie Princes, and to sport her selfe in the interchangeable fauour which shee bestowed vpon their armes, vntill winter approching, they were forced to forsake the field, and draw their souldiers into garrisons, expecting the spring of the yeere to make an end of their bitter contentions.

But the emperor now growing sickly and weake, and waxing wearie with tossing and tumbling in these worldly affaires, considering the variable change and mutabilitie to which they were subiect, yeeded vp his kingdomē ^{of}

THE MVTABILITIE

*Charles the
fift yeerde b
over his em
pire, and bes
takeb him
selfe to a mos
nastery.*

1557

*The Pope
besieged by
the Spanish
forces.*

*The Duke of
Guyse sent
to raise the
siege.*

*The siege is
raised, and
the Pope
set at liberty.*

*King Phillip
prepares
a great army
to besiege S.
Quintines.*

*Chastillon
puttes him
selfe within
S. Quintines.*

of Spaine, and all other his dominions, and that absolutely vnto his sonne Phillip, and spent the rest of his daies in a monastery which he had builded for that purpose.

Phillip King of Spaine being somewhat terrified with the rumor of the coming of the Turke, and partly solicited by his wife, who was loath to haue him encombered with the warres, was contented to hearken to a peace, which the French king refused not: whereupon, after long debating on either side, a league was concluded for five yeeres, but it could not bee kept halfe the time: for the Pope and his Cardinals falling at discention, and the Spanish king taking part with the one, and the French king with the other, the warres beganne againe afresh in Italy betweene these two late reconciled enemies. The Duke of Alua was sent against the triple Crowne of Rome, who with the ayde of the Duke of Florence, tooke many Castles and holds belonging to the Pope, whom they besieged within Saint Angels. The Duke of Guyse, though contrarie to the Counsel of Ann de Memorancy, and his Cousins Odet and Iaspar Collony, called Chastillon, was sent to raise the siege, who accompanied with the Dukes of Aumaille and D'Elbenfe his brothers, the Duke of Nemours, the count D'Eu, the Vidaime of Chartres, and sundrie other great Captains, marched forwarde with all possible speede, purposing to releeue the distressed Pope who was well neere famished in Rom.

While the Duke was hasting on his way, mareschall Strozzio tooke Ostia with a Castle neere adioyning belonging to the Spaniardes, and likewise Vico Valerip, which was sacked, and the spoyle giuen to the Souldiers. As soone as the Duke of Alua and the marquess of Pescara, the two cheefe commanders of the Spanish forces, vnderstood of the approch of the French, they forthwith left Rome, and retired the one towards Naples and the other towards Millan, so that nowe the Pope was almost set at libertie againe, sauing that the Duke of Florence did somewhat restrayne him: but hee fearing least hee should draw all the warre vppon himselfe, was willing to compounde with the French, who were now grown strong in Italy, & prospered maruailously: but many thought it would not be long, for that the Spanish king made verie great preparation, both to withstande the French abroade, and also for to finde them occupied at home, and the rather because a third armie vnder the leading of their Admirall Chastillon, gouernor of Picardy, inuaded Artoise, walting and spoyling the Countrey exceedingly. Thus was the league which was so solemnly sworne, and so necessary for all Christendome, broken againe by the sinistre counsels of the Guyse, and the warres beganne afresh betweene these two mightie Princes.

King Phillip being highly discontented with the French King for so many iniuries and indignities offered, hauing gathered a great army wherein was thirtie ffe thousand footmen and twelue thousand horse, besides some eight thousand English, vnder the leading of the Earle of Penbrooke, purposed to besiege Saint Quintines in Vermandoise, which the Admirall Chastillon suspecting, putte himselfe within the Towne with such power as hee hadde in a readinesse, and fortified it as strongly as he could: the French king likewise prepared to withstande the Spanish inuasion, and hauing prouided an hoste consisting

consisting of eighteen thousande footmen, Almaines and French, and some *The Cones*
tue or six thousande horse, sent the Constable of France to front the enemy, *Rable sent to*
and to keepe him from entring into the fat fieldes of the *Flower de Lis*. But be- *releue Saint*
fore this power could bee in a readinesse, the prince of *Piemont*, generall of *Quintins,*
the Spanish forces, hadde inuested *Saint Quynnes*, and planted his siege be- *Saint Quyns*
fore the Towne, which he watched so narrowly, that it was impossible *tis besiegued.*
for any succours to enter, without apparent daunger. The Constable notwithstanding, *The Cones*
espoying a conuenient time, conuayed certaine troupes of foot- *stable of*
men and horsemens into the Towne, vnder the fauour of a skirmish, main-
tained by the Duke of *Nevers*, and the Prince of *Condé*: which beeing perfor-
med hee begannetoretyre as not willing to hazard his fortune at that pre- *France reles*
sent: which at the first was not discerned by the Spanish. But after that *neb Saint*
the victuallers and pages of the French Campe perccived the retrait of theyr *Quintins,*
Armie, and howe farre they were engaged, they beganne to runne after in *and retreats.*
great haste, and with theyr yelling and crying, gaue such evident prooef to
the enemy of their exceeding feare, so that the Count *Egmond*, who first dis- *Count Eg-*
couered the French dismarch, hauing aduertised the prince, commaunded the *mond char-*
trumpets to sounde *Dedans, dedans*, and with two thousande horse charged them *geth the Co-*
on the side. The Count *Henry* and *Ernest* of *Brunswick*, each of them hauing a *nstable,*
thousand, beeing backed with the Counte *Horne*, who hasted on with great
fury, did likewise assaile them at one instant, who in their retiring turning head,
receiuied them with equall valour.

While the French were thus assailed in the flanke, the Count of *Mansfeld*,
Dosfrate, and *Gneldres*, with three thousande horse ranne vpon them in the front,
and that with such a furions feast, that hauing ouerthowne theyr formost
ranke, the rest were soone defeated and compelled to flie away. *John of Bur-* *The Cones*
bon Duke of Anzolesme was dismounted at the first encounter, and beeing hor- *stable is ouer-*
sed againe, was slaine at the second. *Francis de la Tour* vicount of *Turin*, *Saint* *browne and*
Gelais and aboue a hundred and twentie Gentlemen of good account, beside *takē prisoner*
sixe hundred common souldiers died at that battaile. The Constable beeing *with a great*
wounded in the hippes, wastaken prisoner and brought to the Prince, and so *number of*
were the Dukes of *Montpensier*, the mareschall *Saint Andrew*, *Lewis* prince of *Nobilitie*,
Manfona, the *Ringraue*, *Rochfancont*, *Saint Heran*, *Burdillon*, *Mouy*, *Montsales*, and
many other of the Nobilitie of great reckoning and reputation. There were
also aboue three hundred Gentlemen of Marke taken prisoners, and many of
the footmen beeing slaine, therest were taken to mercy, and driuen away by
troups, as if they hadde beeene flockes of sheepe, and presented to King *Phillip*
with theyr ensignes and colours, as monuments of his glorious and trium-
phant victorie.

The King of *France* was woderfullly astonisched with this ouerthowre, and
therather forthat *Paris* (the cheefe Citie of his Realme) seemed to be straightly *The great*
terrified, that sundrie of the principall Citizens begannero to flie, and to with- *fears of the*
draw themselves towardes the vittermost bounds of the lande, tearing the com- *Parisians af-*
ming of the enemy, who had nowel libertie to doo what hee listed. Howbeit *ter the ouer-*
having borrowed thirty thousande pounds of the Parisians, he presently hired *Quintins,*
fourteene thousande Switzers, and sent to the Duke of *Guyse*, who was in *Italy*, *to*

* The Hugo 32

THE MVTABILITIE

notis persecus to repaire into France with all expedition; and to bring with him all the forces hee could make. Thus was the King driven to an exigent, and hee who not long before hadde sent the *Guye* to annoy other men, was nowe glad to call him home againe to defende himselfe, who stood almost in a desperate state, and lay open to the inuasion of his enemies.

The *Hugos*,
notis tooke
their name
of a gate in
the Cittie of
Tours, called
Hugonnes
cause shose of
ther reformed
religion being
greatly perse
cuted, did ma
ny times in
the night as
semble neere
that gate,
where they
had preas
ching and o
ther exercis
ses, so that in
the beginning
in the way of
mockage they
shew were
called *Hugos*,
notis; which
name being
carried from
one to ano
ther, at
length be
came a comp
mon name,
and used of
al sortis.

In the meantime the King was earnestly busied in gathering of another Armie, sending out his proclamations into all quarters, fortifying *Paris*, and appoynting the Duke of *Nevers* (who by great happe escaped at *Saint Quintins*,) to bee his Lieutenant, and to impeach the enemie from entering any further into France.

The number of those who were called * Hugonots beganto increase, and were dispersed in a manner ouer all the lande, and because the affaires of the state went thus backward, & almost nothing prospered that was taken in hand, one of the principall men about the king, perswaded him that God was angrie and punished the land, for that such sects and heresies (as they tearemed them) were suffered to increase and multiplie in a manner without controlement, and that the King to pacifie the wrath of GOD, must take a more seuer course in punishing such as were offenders heerein, who hadde beeene the principall meanes to pull downe the wrath of God vpon the King, and the whole Lande. Whereupon there immediatly ensued horrible cruelties towards the poore Hugonots, and infinite multitudes were putte to death in a short time, so that the rage of persecution grewe very great, supposing there-by as by an expiation, to turne away the hand of the almighty, which was so heauie vpon France; but they were exceedingly deceiuied heerein, for by applying a wrong medicine, the disease dayly increased, and God seeing them wilfully repugne his truth, augmented theyr sorrowes more and more: for the Prince of *Piemont* did nowe more narrowly besiege *Saint Quintins* then before, and hauing strongly fortified his Campe, and stored himselfe with all conuenient necessaries for to maintaine the siege, raised his mounts and planted 45. peeces of great ordeneance, wherewith hee battered the walles in most furious maner.

† The admiral who was a very valiant, politike and wise chieftaine, would not hearken to any composition, but repaying the breaches, resolued to keepe the place in despite of the enemie: the Prince on the other side plied the batta-ry, and hauing with much adoo made a sufficient breach, disposed his bandes,

and gaue order for the assault: the first place was assigned to Captaine *Cazar* maister of the Campe, and to *Lazaro Collonell* of fifteene hundred Al-

mirall would maines. The second to Captaine *Navarre*, with certain bands of Spaniards, and to count *Melone*, with his Wallones, the third to *Italian Romero* with 3. ensignes of Spaniards, & 2000. English: and the fourth to captain *Caronnellet*, with 3. en-

signes of of Burgonians, all which beeing in a readines valiantly approched the

Saint Quin. wals. The Admirall had likewise determined how to receiue the enemie, and sines taken by putting himselfe into that place where hee supposed most danger, with great assault.

hardinesse expecting the comming of the Spaniards: but there was not the like resolution on all hands, for the souldiours beeing discouraged with the late ouerthrow, and the inhabitants beeing timorous, as men not accustomed to such

such daungers, made small resistance, so that the enemie entred at his pleasure, which when the admirall to his vnspeakeable griefe beheld, hee was enforced to seek to sauue himself, by yeelding to a common souldier, who brought him to captain *Cazares*, by whom he was led prisoner to the prince. *Dandelo*, his brother was likewise taken, but he found the means to escape by a desperate aduenture, to recover his libertie, *Iniac. S. Remy. La Gard, Cuzneux, Moulin, Bruell, Bretanie, Rambouillet. S. Romain, S. Andre, Linieres, & Soleil*, did likewise remaine prisoners, *Fayet le Jeune, Salleuert, Oger, Vignes, la Barre, Estang, Gards*, and many other braue men were slaine. The whole towne was sacked, and spoiled, and a maruellous masse of wealth gotten, and caried into the low countries.

The admiral
yelded him
self to a com
mon souldier.

the towne
was sackt
and spoile

The French king, was all this while prouiding his forces, and devising by what meanes he might best make head against his enemie; fearing indeed the Prince would follow his good fortune, and proceed further into France by reason that he had sent the Count of *Frembarg* with 1000. horse, and 3. regiments of Lancequenets, containing 14. ensignes, & 20. peeces of batterie, to besiege *Belle*, a place of very great strength: yet was it soone taken by the enemie; the French not daring to abide the Canon, so exceedingly were they affrighted with their former losses. In the middest of all these mischiefs, there fell out one thing which turned to the great aduantage of the French king, and brought no small hinderance to the Spanish kings proceedings, and that was the mutinie among the Almaines and Spaniards, who falling at dissencion about their booties and spoiles gotten at *S. Quintins*, & the ransoms of their prisoners, were the occasion of much trouble and tumult in the army. Which when the French king vnderstood, he practised in such maner with sundry of the Almain captains, that their oath being expired with King *Philip*, they were contented to be reclaimed by him, and to serue against the enemies of the *Flower de Lis*.

A mutiny in
the Spanish
camp:

1558

By this time was the Duke of *Guise* come out of *Itale*, and being made the Kings Lieutenant, was sent with a strong power toward *Amiens*, with a secret commandement to enterprise against *Calice*, if occasion served. The duke finding the towne slenderly prouided, suddenly planted his siege about it, and that in the midst of winter. And first assailed a fort called *Nieulay*, which was easily gayned. From thence he sent part of his army along the downes to *Rishbank*, which he likewise tooke without any great resistance. The duke hauing gotten two principal places, & that in one day, planted his battery against the towne, where in was gouernor the L. *Wentworth*: who seeing the vnxpected successe of the French, & how fortune fauored the D. in all his dessignes, disposed of all things as well as he might, and endeuored to remoue the French out of their trenches: but that was impossible, for the duke was so strongly fortifiid, and had gouerned such places of aduantage, that he could not be forced by any means whatsoever. The duke hauing planted 15. Canons, began his battery against the old castle, & that with great fury. And for that the wal's were ruinous, & easie to be pearced, the breach was soone made, & assault giuen, but the French were repulsed at the first, with the losse of their forwardst men: notwithstanding they being incouraged with their former successe, continued their enterprise, and at last gayned the Castell, which the Duke did forthwith cause to be strongly fortifiid. This was a very great losse to the English, for that from thence the French might shooote into the towne at their pleasure.

The duke of
Guise before
gaining Calice.

THE MVTABILITIE

*Calice yeels
ded to the D.
of Guise.*

Now was Calice narrowly besieged, and all passages were stopped in such sort, that it was impossible to conuay in any succours, or to send forth any to giue aduertisement of the distressed estate of the inhabitants. Which when the Lord Wentworth perceiued, and how that for want of necessaries, he was not able to keepe the towne any longer, he was content to parle with the Duke, and to yeeld vpon composition. Whereto the Duke of Guise willingly assented: so that after much debating on either side the towne was yelded vpon condition, that the inhabitants might safely depart without impeachment whither they liued, and the lord Wentworth with diuerse others to the number of fiftie of the chiefeſt, to remaine prisoners.

Thus was Calice in leſſe then ſeven daies recouered by the French (which had bin besieged by Edward the third, king of England, by the ſpace of a whole yere, and which had remained in the English mens hands for the ſpace of 210. yeres) to the incredible joy of the French. And as it was loſt vnder Philip of Valois the French King: ſo was it regained by the French, in the time of Philip king of England. The duke folowing his good fortune, did forthwith besiege Guines, wherin commaunded the valiant lord Gray, who albeit he did stoutly hold out for a time, abiding the planting of the Canon, and a furious assault, yet was he forced in the end to yeeld, and to refigne his office to another man. Which when the garrison of Hams vnderſtood, they abandoned the fort, & withdrew themſelues to a place of greater ſecuritie. The French king was not a little ioyfull to heare the newes: wherefore longing to ſee that, which he had ſo often wiſhed and deſired, he poſted preſently to viſit his new conquered towne: whither he was no ſooner come, but that he gaue order for the repairing and fortifying thereof, and leauing Monsieur de Thermenou, withdrew himſelf againe towards Paris, commanding the Guise to besiege Herbermont, a place of ſome importance: which was yeelded at the firſt ſummance. Thus did fortune begin to turne her countenance towards the French, and as it were alternatiuely, and by course fauour the Kings deſignes.

*Francis the
Dolphin of
France mar-
ryeth Marie
Queen of
Scots.*

The French K: intending to prosecute his wars againſt the Spaniards, thought it good policie to strengthen himſelfe with ſome forein alliance and therefore contriued a mariage betweene Mary the yong Queene of Scots, and Francis the Dolphin of France. Which mariage was ſolemnized at Paris, in moſt roiall and magnificent maner, the 14. of April 1558. About which time there began ſome motion to be made, as touching a peace betweene Spaine & France. The principal procurer whereof was the Lady Dutchesſe and dowager of Lorraine, and co-ſteward to King Philip. But by reaſon of ſundry impeachments, there was nothing effected: ſo that the French king hauing all things in a readinesſe, ſent the Duke of Guise, accompanied with the Dukes of Nevers, & Nemours, the Mareſchal Sbrozzi, and Bourdillon, with a great power to besiege Thermenou. Who making their approches, raised their mounts, planting their Ordinance, and beat the towne with 35. peeces of artillery. Which when Count Horne vnderſtood, he marched thither in the dead of the night, with certain old bands of Spaniards, purpoſing to force the Corps de gard of the enemies: But the Count being nor able to effect that which he deſired, by reaſon he found the French very ſtrongly encamped, was forced to retire with loſſe of many of his men.

The

The Duke still plied his batterie, and for that he could not well discern whether the breach were reasonable or not, & what flankers remained to endamage the assailants: as also to see the countenances and resolution of the besieged, sent <sup>The duke of
Guyse before
geth Theons
ville.</sup> about midnight five hundred of his most hardy and best experienced souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Cipierre S. Estef, Mellas, Sarlabos, and Jaques*, to giue a false assault, with expresse commaundement not to aduance further, then onely to discouer the breach, vnlesse they should be drawne therto by some apparent aduantage: who approching the walles, and crying, scale, scale, as though they would haue giuen a generall assault, so terrified those who garded the breach, that part of them shrinking away for feare, and the rest not able to resist, gaue leauue to the French to ascend to the toppe of the Rampart, and had the souldiours followed theyr leaders, with equall courage, the towne had beene gayned at that instant. But the alarum being giuen, the French were soone repulled, with the losse of many of their principall and most forward men: the besieged were much dismayed with this vnlooked for accident, and the remembrance of their manifold wants made them to doubt of the sequell of the siege, wherevpon *Caderobbe* who was gouernour of the towne, knowing he was not able to holde out for any long time, sent a trumpeter to demaund a parle, offering to yeeld vpon reasonable conditions: which when the Duke had assented vnto, and the articles were fully agreed vpon, the place was giuen vp the 22. of Iune 1558. vnto the French, who entered with great triumphs, and repairing the battered walles, made them as defensible as they could.

This and the like prosperous successe somewhat cheered the French nation, and made their name seeme terrible to the Spaniards, who had for a time beeene exceedingly crossed in most of their affayres. But nowe the worlde beganne to change, & fortune which is euer instable, frowned vpon the French, by crossing the designes of *Monsieur de Termes*, the captaine of Calice. Who desirous to doo some especiall seruice for his late preferment, invaded the confines of Flanders, with an army of 9000. footmen, & 1500. horse, and by an assault tooke Dunkirk, <sup>First of Nos
number.</sup> *Monsieur de Termes in
uaderb the
low countries* leauing Graveling on his backe, with a purpose to enterprise against that also if oportunitie serued, and so passed forth hard vnto Newport, cruelly wafting with fire and sword, whatsoeuer was in his way. For the repressing of whose furious and barbarous rage, Count *Egmond* assembled a power of 12000. on foote, and 3000. horsemens: of whose approch when *Termes* was ascertained by his espials, he began to retire with al speed, being indeed not able to encounter with so strong and resolute an enemy: wherfore vling the benefit of a low water, he marched away in the dead of the night along by the sea, hoping to deceiueth the count, and to free himselfe from the danger of the Dutch. But the count *Egmond* vnderstanding of the retreat of the French, suspecting that they hasted to get out of his hands, crossed the country by a nearer way, and put himselfe between them and home, meeting them in the front not farre from Graveling. He was no sooner in view of the enemy, but he caused the signall to be giuen, & like a general of surpassing courage, went resolutely to the charge. The French who stood in a desperat state, receiuied the shottre with equall valour: and at the first seemed to haue the better, committing maruellous slaughter with their great Ordinance vpon the formost ranckes of the Burgonians, whom when the French <sup>Count Egmont over
threweth
de Termes,
and taketh
him prisoner.</sup> faw

saw so broken and dismembred, supposing the day had bin theirs, they cried out victorie, victorie. But this acclamation lasted not long: for the Count Egmont arriuing with a great Hot of Reisters, and Flemings, so furiously charged the French launces, that they were wholy defeated and ouerthrowne.

A strange chance.

Amids these bloody broils hapned a strange chance: for at the sametime, certaine English ships pausing by, and descryng this encounter, made towards the shore, and with their shot beat the flanks of the French army, which on this side lay open to a ful batre: wherewith they being sore dismayed, and not able to indure the fight any longer, turned their backs and fled amain. There were some 1500. slaine in that place. And the greatest number of such as escaped, were killed by the boores and women of the country who made hauocke of as many as fel into their hands. Monsieur de Termes, D'annebault, Senarpont, Meruilliers, & sundry others of the principall captains remained prisoners. Moreouer they lost all their Ordinance, ensignes, munition, bag and baggage, and all their rich booties which they had gotten in Flanders. This sinister chance did not a little vexe the French King, who fearing a further mischiefe if it were not timely preuented, sent forth presently for his Bannes & Arierbannes, with a straight commaundement to all his ordinance and men of armes, to assemble themselues at Pierreport in as warlike maner as might be, there to attend his further pleasure, and to be in a readinesse to be employed as occasion should be offered.

The French
K. mustreth
new forces.

King Philip of Spaine, had likewise gathered a very strong power, and al things were prouided by these two mighty Monarkes, as though they meant to determine all their controuersies by some one cruel & bloody battell. But God who ruleth the hearts of princes, disposed of their intentions far otherwise then their blind affections led them. For vpō the sudden, their hard harts began to be molified, and each party inclined to peace: so that the place being appointed, and the deputies on both sides agreed vpon, they met about the midst of October following at Cercam, betweene Artoys and Picardy. There were many complaints on both sides, and a commemoration of sundry indignities offered on either part. Each defended others doings, neither was there any likelihood of better agreement: so that after many contentious words, their assembly brake vp, without any cōclusion for peace: and yet, for that winter approched, & the soldiers were

1559

Peace con-
cluded be-
tweene France
and Spaine.

not able to keep the field, both princes dissolued their armies, and licenced their men of warre to repose themselues vntill the next yere. But before that time, by reason of newe occurrences, there was a generall peace proclaimed betweene these two nations, & each linked with other with very strait alliances: For King Philip (whose wife Mary Queene of England was lately deceased) was contented to take in marriage Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Henry the French King, and Pilebert Emmanuel duke of Sauoy, was affianced vnto madame Margaret his sister: so that by reason of these new cōiunctions, there insued much quietnes to all Christendome, but especially to these two kingdoms, who now had made an end of all their quarels & contentions, and seemed to study of nothing but how they might honor and solemnise in most royll maner these new marriages.

There was exceeding sumptuous preparation against the appointed time: all the Nobilitie of France were assembled at Paris, to attend the king, & to honor these espousals. The lady Elizabeth was conducted by the king her father to our

Lady

Lady Church at the day prefixed in most pompous and stately maner, and there married by the Cardinall of *Burbon*, to the Duke of *Alua*, was who constituted *The Duke of Alua marries his master the king of Spaine.* Procurator of the king of *Spaine* his maister. There were all the princes of the bloud attending in their order, and many cheefe Prelates, and all the officers of French kings the crowne. The Duke of *Alua* was accompanied with the Prince of *Oreno*, daughter for *his master the king of Spaine.*

Count *Egmond*, and sundrie other very honourable personages. The marriage being finished, there was exceeding feasting, banqueting, and cheering, with dauncing, masking, and all other pastimes that could be imagined, both to delight the eye and please the eare. The king reioyced to see his daughter so honourably aduanced: the Nobilitie and commonaltie were marshallously glad to remember what ease, peace, and tranquilitie they should enjoy by this newe affinitie: and all sorts seemed to triumph, hoping therewould be a perpetuall league and corepondency betweene these two Nations: but now behold a woful mishap and lamentable mischance, wherewith all this mirth and iollity was turned into weeping, wailing, and great sorrow: so enterchangeably do these two accompany each other, & so certaintly do they follow one another. The French king, who had bin the principall challenger at tilt, assisted by the Duke of *Guyse*, *Alphonse* the Prince of *Ferrara*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, hauing borne himselfe very nobly that day, and broken many staues to his great honor and high commendation, would needes in the end run a course with count *De Mont-gommery* a valiant gentleman of France: who at the first refusing, yet commanded by the king accepted the condition, and offered so freely, that theyr *slaine with* staues flying in peeces, some of the shiuers getting in at the sight of the beuer, *running a* pearced into the kings head, & greeuously wounded him, that he died within *course as* eleuen daies after, to the immeasurable greefe of his subiects; *after hee hadde* *sixt.*
aigned twelve yeeres, three moneths, and tenne dayes.

CHAP. VI.

Francis the second the French King. The Guises authors of all the confusion in France.
The Guises sygne with the Queen mother against the King of Navarre. The King of Navarre yeeldeth to the Queen mother. The Duke of Guise made Lieutenant for the King, and Henrie Cardinal of Lorraine, made L. Tresorier of France. They incense the King agaynst the princes of the bloud. The enterprise of the Lord of Renaudie. The hatred of the Guises towards the three Chastillons. The Prince of Conde being discontented, goeth from the Court. The order of the States of France. The Admirall presenteth the supplication of the Hugonots to the king. The Prince of Conde committed to prison, and is condemned to die. The death of the King.



He Kingdome of *France* had for manie yeares together, beeene verie well acquainted with the variable and changeable estate of vnconstaunt fortune, and vnder *Charles the eight*, *Leau* the twelfth, *France* the first, and *Henrie the seconde*, had by wofull experiance found, how subiect she most flourishing estates, kingdoms & cōmonwealths are to a continuall change and alteration: and therfore hauing by long obseruatiō perfittly learned, that the best meane to maintain her selfe in her wonted grandeour and glory, was to be leagued with her neig-

bour Countries, and to be at peace and vnitie at heme, beganne to hanē a flexible heart, and to encline to quietnesse as much as might bee: so that hauing ended all quarrels, and buried all wronges and indignities in the pit of obliuion, and by a neare coniunction with the Spanyard her ancient and mighty enemy, (in the opinion of most men) procured her selfe a perpetuall peace, began as it were, to clap her handes for ioy, and seriously to tryumph in so incomparable a benefite. But the fatall and ineuitable mishap of this most noble kingdome, which had florished for so many hundred yeares, and had been the paragon of her neighbor nations, could not (as it seemeth) be auoyded, but that it must needs take place, and wanting foraigne enemies to worke her overthrow, must needs hatch a viperous brood, which by gnawing out the belly of their owne mother, haue most vnnaturally sought the destruction of her, who haue most tenderly fostered and brought them vp.

*The house of
Guyse, the
principall
cause of all
the sturrers in
France.*

The principall cause to produce so lamentable an effect, and the only means in a maner to hatch so hortible a mischiefe, was the immeasurable ambition of that haughtie and aspiring house of *Guyse*: who albeit they were strangers, and no natural French men, yet fortune so tauoured their attempts, and made some of them so gracious with their soueraignes, that they did not only contend for the superioritie with the greatest Princes of the blood, but at length (as ambition hath never any end) striued with their liege Lords, and through their rebellious counsels and most trayterous plottes, assisted by a multitude of Guyards and Hispaniolized French, draue their soueraigne Lord out of his chiefe Citie: and not contented to offer so great indignitie to so mighty a potentate, never left practising, yntill they had most wickedly murthered him, whose life in all dutie should haue beene vnto them more precious then their owne: and with their diuellish sorceries, haue so bewitched and sotted sundry of the French nation, that at this day, to their perpetuall shame and ignominy, they will not be reduced vnto any dutifull obedience vnder their most lawfull and liege Lord.

*Francis
Duke of
Guyse, and
Charles Car-
dinal of Lor-
rain, the two
fire-brands of
France.*

One of the most notorious plotters of so many mischiefes, was *Francis Duke of Guyse*, who with his brother *Charles Cardinall of Lorrain* (as proud, subtill, and as ambitious a prelate as euer was) grew to that heighth, through the benefit of their good fortune, that they commanded all *France*, and brought the greatest Princes of thaenatio to be their vnderlings: and by reason of a mariage between *Francis* the second, with *Mary* the yoong Queene of Scottes their neece, they bare themselves so loftely, and so eagerly strove to aduance their house, that they turned all *France* topsy turvy, so chaunging the gouernment and altering the state, that it seemed in a short time to be a meere *Chas*, and confusion. For after the death of *Henry the secōd*, and that *Francis* his sonne was crowned King, these two so craftily handled the matter, that joyning with *Katherin de Medices*, the Queen mother of *France*, (who contrary to the auncient lawes and ordinances of that Realme, which permit not women to rule, sought to haue the gouernment of the yoong King, and to exclude *Henry of Barban* King of *Nasarre*, and chiefe Prince of the blood) after infinite troubles to themselves, and vnspeakable misery to their owne Country, they gat the gouernment into their hands, and swayed every thing after their owne likings.

And albeit the state of that kingdome had begun long before to be much afflicte,

slicted, and through the horrible persecutions of those whom they termed *Huguenots*, maruellously decayed and weakned, by reason of a secret diuision bred in the hearts of infinit mylititudes, who once dissenting in Religion, could never after well agree in matters of state: yet was the land at peace within it selfe, and every one seemed to be enclinable to their princes pleasure, choosing rather to endure any affliction, then by seeking to defend their liues and liberties by force of armes, to bring in any intestine warres, the most devouring plague and sharpest pnnishment of all other: but after that the houle of *Guyse* began to rule, and that their factious deuises cloaked with a zeale of maintaining the Catholicke cause, had once stirred the coales, the flame presently brake soorh, and finding conuenient matter to nourish it withall, spread it selfe in a short time ouer the face of the whole kingdome of *France*, to the consuming of infinite multitudes of all sorts, and the extreame impouerishing of the whole land.

There were sundry and diuers meanes to hasten this so wonderfull and lamentable alteration in *France*, but the principall of all other, was the vnxpected death of the late King, who albeit hee verie severelye punished all such as were accounted Protestants, and that principally at the instigation of the house of *Guyse*, yet did he so politikely carry himselfe, that during his raigne, he kept that ambitious monster in some reasonable good order, and the whole lande from tumult and rebellion: but he was no sooner dead, but that all things beganne to hasten to a confusion, and the whole common wealth to bee daungerously infected with sundry fearefull diseases, the originally whereof arose in this maner.

In the beginning of the reigne of *Francis the second*, being but sixteene yeares olde, there grewe a controuersie betwenee *Katherin de Medices* the Kings mother, *Henry of Barbow* King of *Navarre*, and *Francis of Lorrain*, Duke of *Guyse*, touching the gouernement of the young King during his nonage. The Queene-mother alleged many reasons to strengthen her claime, as the lawes of Nature, which would that the mother shoulde haue the bringing vp of her children, as one hauing a most tender care ouer them, and most willing of all others to doo them good, the customes and usages of sundry nations, and the auncient order of the lande, which made the mother *Gardien* of her childe: and so by consequent gaue her the Regency of the kingdomme. The king of *Navarre* on the contrary affirmed, that he ought in right to be gouernour of the young king, for that he was the next Prince of the blood, and nearest of kinne vnto him: besides that there were fundamentall lawes of that nation, which did not only shut out all strangers, (by whom he vnderstood the house of *Lorraine* and of *Guyse*), but also disabled the Queene and her, by reason of her sexe, which the *Salique* lawe did expresslye excludide from all regency, and succession to the Crownne. The Duke of *Guyse* had also diuers reasons for the aduauncing of his owne title, as that hee was the kings uncle: that by his seruice the whole lande had bene in manner maintained, and the land from sundry imminent perilles delivered. Besides he excepted his fort against the king of *Navarre*: for that hee and his brother the Prince of *Gandy*, gaue euident tokens of their liking of the Gospel, and their hatred of

the Queene
mother, the
King of Nas
sars and the
Duke of
Guyse, cons
tend for the
gouvernement
during the
nonage of
the King.

THE MVTABILITIE

the Romish Religion: so that if *Nauarre* shoulde have the gouernement of the King, it was to bee feared (saide hee) that the whole lande would fall into heresie.

Thus did these three contend with might and maine for the superioritye, each of them devising al the reasons they could imagine for the furtherance of their cause.

The Queene mother, and D. of Guise, But in the ende, the Queene Mother, and the Duke of *Guise* doubting that they shoulde not bee able nor sufficient to preuaile, and also fearing least that the King of *Nauarre* (by reason of the great preheminence and authoritie that the princes of the blood shoulde by right haue, besides his iust tylle) shoulde in the ende preuayle and get the better agaynst them both, thought it best to ioyne togither agaynst the King of *Nauarre*, and *Naute*: cyther by force, or by policie and fayre meanes to winne him vnto their willes, and by some devise or other to make him surcease from his iust claime, and interest.

The better to effect this, the Duke of *Guise* seyed vpon the king, whome hee conducted and brought to the *Louvre* in *Paris*, with the yong Princes his Brethren, and with the two *Queenes*, leauing the Princes of the blood, the *Conestable*, the *Mareschall*, the *Admirall*, and sundrie other noble and great personages attending vpon the dead Corps of the late king *Henrik*.

Whenthey hadde preuailed in their purpose thus farre, then was there such watch and warde kept about the King, that no man might speake vnto him, but in the presence of some of the *Guyses*: and the matter was so well handled in the ende, that the *Cardinall* and the Duke of *Guise* ruled and governed all things, and hadde the king in a manner at their will and commandement.

Then beganne they to bring into the kings Councell men of their owne faction, and to procure the kings displeasure vnto such as they disliked. The rulers and gouernours of the Citties, Townes, and Prouinces were at their appointment: the Princes of the bloud were employed in busines far from the Court.

The Prince of *Condé* was sent into *Flanders* to treat of the league made between *France* and *Spain*: the King of *Nauarre*, the *Cardinall* of *Bourbon*, and the Prince *Dela Roche sur Ton* were sent to conduct the kings Sister into *Spain*.

There were many deuises and fetches to moue the King of *Nauarre* to give over his claime and title which hee made to the Regencie of the young King, and many faire promises were procured out of *Spain*, conditionally that he would doo.

The pronde Letters of the K. of Spain. And among others there were letters sent to that purpose, wherein the Spanish king promised that if he would be ruled herein, he would restore him the kingdom of *Nauarre*, of which he held nothing but the title: auering further, & therenesy impériously, & with threatening words, that if he did otherwise, he wold take vpon him the protection of his brother in law himself, and to honor his bne, to greate cost to his selfe to spend ad.

spend all that euer he had, yea, his owne life and the liues of fortie thousand others, whom he had in a readinesse in maintaining the quarrell.

Thus partly with faire promises, and partly with threats, the King of *Navarre* The king of Navarre began to be cold, and in a manner quiet, and cleane to giue ouer the matter. When the *Guyse* perceiued this, then did he proceede further, hauing the countenance of the yong King, and being backed so strongly with the Spanish king, gineith ouer his claime. so that nowe hee put out and in whome hee listed, and incroched vpon the offices of other men: hee would not sticke to meddle I be pride of with the Conestableship Guyse. and great maister of *France*, arrogating that vnto himselfe which of right belonged vnto others. The high courts of Parliament were full of his followers, and whom soever he suspected not to fauour his desigues, these were by some one sinister information or other, presently disgraced, insomuch as those fewe good men that were in place, considering the rough handling, and seuer v-lage of sundry well affected persons, and the small good that ensued by complaining vnto the King, were content to be silent, and not to meddle in such dangerous times.

The Cardinall of *Guyse* was appoynted ouer the Kings finances: the Duke of *Guyse* his brother was made Lieutenant generall, and had the direction of all The Cards matters appertaining vnto the warres, and all Captaines, gouernors of townes, and other officers were commanded to obey him, as the King himselfe. Thus hadde these two gotten the sole authoritie into their hands, and although the Queene mother was at the first the meanes to procure them so great place, and to make them so neere about the king, yet not long after shee repented her thereof, and sought many waies to curb them, and to keep them as short as shee might: yet shee beeing a most vncertaine and inconstant woman, and euer inclining to the worst, still rather held with them, then with the princes of the bloud, who beganne to waxe wearie of the intollerable pride of the *Guyse*, and the burning, murthering, and injurious dealing of that bloody house. The *Guyse* no sooner suspected that their hearts were alienated, but that hee studied day and night howe to ouerthrow them, and to cause the King to embrew his handes in the bloud of his owne kinred. While these mischiefes were thus in plattynge, and many outragious parts plaied tending to the strengthening of this factious house, and the vtter ouerthrow of the ancient Nobilitie of *France*, infinite multitudes grewe maruailous discontented, and both by word and writing shewed theyr mislike of the present governement, exclaiming against the sore persecutions of those of the reformed Religion, and the intollerable wronges and iniuries offered vnto sundrie of the Kings best affected subiects.

There were many supplications presented vnto the Queene mother, to the King of *Navarre*, and others of greatest place & authoritie, tending to the reformation of these miseries, but they were little or nothing regarded: for the Queene mother fauoured nor the Protestants in her heart, though often in the beginning made some shewe thereof, and gaue some helpe to the persecuted Hugonots. The King of *Navarre* was timorous, and would not prosecute the cause with such a courage as hee ought to haue done: besides, hee was besotted with the perswasions of regaining the kingdome of *Navarre*, if hee would still remaine a Catholike: which conceiued hope so stacke in his mind and made so

THE MVTABILITIE

so deepe an impression in the bottome of his heart, that of a zealous and earnest professour, hee became key cold, and in the ende proued a bitter enemie to the cause: so that the Guyles did still what they listed, and no redresse was to bee expected, for new Edicts & proclamations were made, & those more seuerre then before: such as were knowne or suspected to be Protestants, were apprehended, & either forced to recant, or else were burned. This barbarous vslage of so many natural Frenchmen, & outragious crueltie towarde all sorts, bred by little & little a commiseration in the hearts of sundry, in whom thereremained some sparks of humanitie, so that banding together & opposing themselues against the proceedings of that time, they endeuored by al possible meanes to reforme the common wealth, & reduce the decaied estate to some better order: and albeit that sundrie personages had shewed their liking of a reformation, as the K. of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the constable, the Admirall, *Dandolo*, & many others, yet no man attempted, but strained courtesie (as it were) who should begin: which procrastinating sundry of good place not beeinge able to endure any longer, combined themselues together, hauing for the principall

The Lord of Renaudie and ringleader of their actions, one called Godfray de Berry, Lord of Renaudie, a wife, valiant & wel experient Gentleman, who notwithstanding without the advise of six counsellers, and 20. captaines, might not attempt anything.

This companie consisting of meere pollitticks in the beginning, and such as sought for nothing but a reformation in the common weale, were in processe of time assilfed by a multitude of those who were teameed Hugonots (as it is the maner of discontented persons, how different so euer the occasion be, to ioyne together in hope of fortunes accidents) who allied themselues with the rest, the more willingly, for that it was in a ciuill cause, and such a thing as tended to the honour of the King, and generall good of the whole state.

Monsieur de Renaudie hauing acquainted many of good account with this great and waughtie enterprise, as the Baron Chassellnaw, Captaine Mazeres, Vaillary, Bréssay, Chesnay, Chiray, S. Mary, Coquenille, Chateannef, and sundrie others, resolued with all possible speed in as close and secret maner as might be, to draw neere the Court, which was then at Amboise, and on the sodaine with some fwe hundred Gentlemen, to seise vpon the Guyse and the Cardinall of Lorrain his Brother, and hauing once caught them to put them to death for an exemplarie punishment to all other seducers of the King, and disturbers of the common wealth. This enterprise could not bee so closely kept but that it came to the eares of the Guyles: who vnderstanding after sundrie examinations, the drift and scope of the whole project, and howe that most of those who had complotted together, hadde long since shaken off the Popes yoake, deuised straight to publish so notable a conspiracie, and to make it seeme as odious as might bee to the eyes of all men: they declared howe that they of the reformed Religion had conspired against the king, the Queene mother, the kings brethren and Princes of the bloud, & sought to bring in their doctrine by force, to ouerthrow the monarchie of France, and to reduce it to a popular estate and gouernement, and by depriving the king of his crowne, to pull downe the church, to root out the ancient Catholike faith, & to infect the whole land with all kinde of impietie and irreligion, and hauing by sundry proclamations declared

declared the hainousnesse of the fact, fearing that a matter of such consequence was not attempted without the priuicie of some great ones in the land: they fortified themselves very strongly, mustered souldiers, gathered forces, and gat all things in a readinesse, to withstand any attempt that should be made vpon the sodaine.

Being thus provided, they foorthwith apprehended such as they suspected, and proceeded against them with all rigour. Many of them who were taken were executed, and the rest committed to seuerall prisons, sauing some few that by their good fortune escaped their hands. At length diuers of the meaner sort were set at libertie, fearing (indeede) that if all should bee punished, so great feuerie would alienate the hearts of many, who were nothing well affected alreadie. And although that the King of *Navare*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall nor *Dandels* could bee charged with the maintaining or abetting of anie of these attempts, yet did the Guyles strongly suspect them, and especially the three *Chattillons*, whom of all other they feared most: notwithstanding, they thought it good pollicie to giue them faire speeches for the time, and to entertaine them in all plausible maner, vntill they had gotten their forces about them, and had prouided a strong armie in a readinesse: which was no sooner performed, but they began to speake biggewords, and to deale more roughly: and first of all they dealt with the Prince of *Conde*, who was commanded not to depart the Court without licence, while in the meane time they practised to catch matter against him, and to that purpose sundrie with faire promises and rewardes were subbornd to proue him the cheefe of that seditious tumult at *Amboise*. They daily whispered in the Kings eare, that so long as *Conde* were at libertie, and suffered to countenance such as alreadie were discontented with the present gouernement, the whole land would neuer bee at quiet, nor the kings person in safetie, as appeared by the last rebellious and tumultuous practise. The onely way to preuent so many and so great mischieves, was to bring the Prince to his answere, and by apprehending the ringleaders, to keep the meaner sort in order and due obedience. Whereupon the king beeing by these sinister informations mightily incensed against the Prince, commaunded *La Trousse*, the steward of his house, to attach sundrie of his seruants and to haue them in safe keeping, and to commaund the prince himselfe to come vnto his presence the next morrow: and to the ende there might be some matter found aginst him, his house was searched, and all his papers ransacked: the Guyles hadde also sent to search the Chamber and study of the king of *Navares* Secretarie, hoping that something would bee founde to minister matter aginst these great personages: for nowe they might do what they listed, seeing the king approoued whasoever they did, and did speake as it were with theys tongues.

The three
Chattillons
of all other
most basid
the Guyles.

The Guyles
incense the
King agains
the Prince of
Conde.

As soone as the Prince was informed of the kings pleasure, he readily obeyed, and comming before him, did so cleare himselfe, and answered with such courage and alacritie, that it was thought good to dismiss him for that present, without any further triall: whereupon the king shewed him very good countenance, and the Guyles seeing therime serued not to accomplish what they had purposed, cloked all in as couert maner as might bee, and each departed from

The Prince
of *Conde*
brought bes
fore the king.

*The Prince
of Conde leas
with the
court and
goeth to the
King of Nas
narre.*

from other as good friendes . But the Prince seeing his life was sought for, thought it wisedome to looke to himselfe , and for that long since he fauoured the Gospel, he supposed it to be best to go to his brother the King of *Nassarre*, where he should be out of all danger, and might vse his conscience freely. Many wondered at this strange dealings with the Princes of the bloud, saying, that if they could not liue without perill of their lives , that it would shortly come to passe , that all true and naturall Frenchmen should bee accounted enemies, and no man bee in securitie but the houise of *Guyse* and *Lorraine*, who being but strangers themselues, durst notwithstanding attempt such practises against the kings best affected subiects , as were in no sort to bee endured . Heereupon great rumors were raised, and infinite multitudes grew greeued with these iniurious proceedings.

To preuent the mischieves that might ensue hereof, the Queene mother with the rest of the Kings councell, sought by amiable letters and smooth words, to content such as most complained , and where they did feare most danger, therer did they send such as were most gracious with the people , to keepe them in their obedience. The Admirall, who for his wisedome, integritie, and expe-

The Admirall sent into Normandy, where there was thought to bee the greatest number of discontented persons, with a straight commaundement to consider of all good meanes, for the quiet of the land, and freely to signifie vnto the coun, the occasions of their dislike, and the best way how to reforme those things which were amisse: which he from time to time very faithfully performed, aduertising the

Queene mother, that the cruell handling of those of the reformed Religion, and the iniurious dealing with all such as seemed to fauour them, or any waies to countenance them, and that vnder an vnlawfull authoritie, usurped by strangers, without the approbation of the Princes of the bloud, and the cheefe officers of the land, and that while the King was in his minoritie, to the great prejudice of the Realme and dishonour to the Crowne of *France*, was the cause of so many mischieves , and was like still to draw on more dangerous consequents, if there were not some speedie courfe taken to preuent them. Many such aduertisements were sent from all quarters , and sundrie evident signes appeared of ciuill warres . Whereupon it was thought good to assemble all the Princes of the bloud, the Nobilitie, the officers of the Crowne, and all men of place and authoritie, to devise of the meanes how to pacifie these troubles, which were

The assembly likely to ensue, which when the Guyles vnderstood, albeit they liked not to of the States, heare of the assembly of the States , and therefore inwardly hated this motion of the Admirall and the Chancellor, from whom it especially proceeded, yet were they outwardly contented therewith, hoping by this meanes to draw the King of *Nassarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the constable and others to the Coun, who otherwise could not so easily bee come by , and then to rule them well enough assuring themselues that the greatest multitude of the Knights of the order, and others of the Nobilitie which should bee there assembled, were at their devotion, and therefore that nothing could passe in prejudice of them, but rather that all should tender to theyr further profit and aduancement. This resolution beeing taken, sommonances were sent into all quarters, and particular letters

letters written to the king of *Navarre*, to request him to come to the Parliament, which was assigned at *Fountainbleau*, & to bring his brother the Prince of *Conde* with him. But when the *Guises* had with more maturitie of judgement considered of this weightie subiect, fearing that if *Navarre*, *Conde*, and the Constable, ^{new counsell} with all their adherents should meete together, they should bee ouermatched, ^{of *Descars* & *Bouchart*,} and not be able to make their partie good, they practised with *Descars* the Lord Chamberlain, & *Bouchart* the Chancelor, two of *Navarres* principal seruants, and those indeed vpon whose counsels he principally relied, corrupting them with great summes, and promising them mountaines, if they would vse the means to dissuade the K. their master from that assembly. Which two, put so many suspitious matters into *Navarres* head, and vised such forceable reasons to diuert him from his intended voyage, that notwithstanding the earnest intreay of the Constable hee would not bee induced to be at the Parliament at the time appointed, which treacherous counsell of theirs, gaue such a blow vnto the whole realm of *France*, that it feeleth the smart therof vntil this day. For *Navarre* being withheld by this their wicked aduise, the whole gouernement still remained in the hands of the *Guises*, who fortified themselues more and more to their owne advancement, and the extreme perill of the whole state.

*The King of
Navarre
would not bee
at the council
of estate,*

The day prefixed being come, there presented themselues most the greatest personages which had bin summoned, so that the 21. of August 1559. this honorable cōpanie were assembled in the chamber of the Queene mother, and every one placed according to their degrees. First the K. vnder his cloth of estate, then the Queene mother, the kings wife, & the kings brethren. Next to these were the Cardinals of *Surles*, of *Lorraine*, of *Guise*, of *Chastillon*. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Annaile*, duke *Memoracie* Constable of *France*, *Monsieur d'Hospital* the Chan- ^{The order of} cellor, the two Mareschals, *S. Andrew*, & *Bressac*, *Chastillon* the Admiral of *France*, ^{the estates of} *Marillac* the Archbishop of *Vienna*, *Morbillier* Bishop of *Orleance*: *Mouluc* bishop ^{France, as} of *Valence*, *Mortier* and *Auanson*, all of the Kings priuie Councell. The Knights ^{they sit in} of the orders, the masters of the requests, the secretaries, and the rest of the kings ^{their Parlia-} officers had likewise their places alsigned them. All things being disposed after ^{ment.} this maner, before any were commaunded to speake, the Admirall rose vp, and ^{The Adminis-} with a Supplication in his hand went to the king, to whom (after due obeisance ^{ral present-} done) hee declared, that according to his Maiesties commandement at his going ^{to the super-} into Normandie, hauing as diligently as hee could looked into the causes of ^{the prote-} thesetroubles which sprung vp dayly in the land, hee in his opinion coniectured, that such as found themselues most greeued, intended no harme against his ^{plants to the} King.

THE MVTABILITIE

fiftie thousand in *Normandie*, who would willingly haue subscribed vnto that supplication. And so beseeching the King to haue some regarde hereof, and fauourably to interpret that which he had done, with humble reuerence he returned to his place. When as this supplication was read, & the contents vnderstoode, whereof some were that there might bee publike places appointed for the Protestants to meet in, and that their preachers might be permitted to teach the people without perill, many wondred at this bold part of the Admiral, considering the manifest daunger hee had cast himselfe into, by taking the cause of such odious persons into his hande, and present it vnto the K. who was so exasperated agaynst them. The King seemed to take this action of the Admirals in verie good part, giuing him verie gracious wordes, and an honourable testimonie of his good seruice, commanding every one to speake his opinion in order, and as the case required.

Moultz,
Marillac, &
the Admiral
worthy of imm-
mortal praise
for their free
speach.

In this assembly there were three which spake excellently to the purpose, laying open vnto the viewe of all men the naked truth: and as men resolute in their countries cause, not daunted with the faces of any, openly reproached that course which was taken in the administration of the Common-wealth, and the affaires of the land. And those were *Moultz* Bishop of *Valence*, *Marillac* the Archbishop of *Vienna*, and *Chastillon* the Admirall. The eloquent speech of *Moultz*, did somewhat warme the *Guyses*, and *Marillac* with his hardie and learned discourses, did make them as hote as a toast. Both concluding, that to preuent so many miseries as were likely to ensue, it were convenient to assemble a generall Councell: or if that could not be accomplished, then to reserre the deciding of those controuersies to a nationall Councell, and in the meantime to deale more mildly with such as were of the reformed religion. But when the Admirall came to speake, he madethem starke mad, hee so touched them to the quicke. For hauing firt approoued that which had beene sayde by *Moultz*, and *Marillac*, he insisted vpon the new garde which the *Guyses* had set about the king which (said he) was a matter of perillous consequence, to nourish the K. in a diffidence and euill opinion of his subiects, and in time might draw on the hatred of the people towards their prince, who seeing themselues suspected, wold be suspitious againe, seeing their king and souereigne armed against them, and instead of free accesse, to impart vnto him their grieves and doleances, to be vtterly secluded from his presence, by a multitude of armed souldiours. And for his part he could not conceiue what reason there was, why the French king should be so garded: for he wold pawne his honour, his goods, yea, and his life to, that there was no harme meant against his person. If any of his principall Officers were afraied of themselues, it were good to cut off all occasions of offence, which arose especially of the disordered gouernment of such as had the managing of the publike affayres.

The Duke of Guise

The Duke of *Guise* was in an extreme rage with the Admirall for these speeches, and from that day forward grew to be his mortall enemie. And albeit that hee and the Cardinal his brother, laboured to crosse these good motions before remembred: yet was it agreed vpon by the King, with the assent of all the Nobilitie, that there should be another assembly of the estates at *Meaux*, and therethese points to be more fully resolued of: and in the meantime that every

one

one should repaire into their Countries, to learne the state of them, the better to acquaint the King at the next assembly with their plaints. While these things were thus in handling, there were many enterprises of the Mal-contents, tending to the surprising of sundry townes: which occasioned the *Guyses* to send out proclamation in the Kings name, and to leue souldiours, to withstand (as they laid) the attempts of the seditious, and perturbers of the state. But the truth was, that hauing their forces in a readinesse, they might send on the sodaine for the Prince of *Condé*, who was still with his brother the King of *Navarre*: and if hee would not come, then to fetch him by force. But first they assayed after a milde manner, to accomplish their deuises, causing the king to write vnto *Navarre*, in friendly sort to request him to come to the Court, and to bring his brother *Condé* with him, or otherwise hee shoule bee compelled to fetch him, for that there were so many, and so evident accusations agaynst him. But *Navarre*, and the Prince aunswere so wisely, and with such courage, that their enemies thought it not good to attempt any thing agaynst them by violence.

*The Guyses
cause the K.
to falsifie his
word.*

Whereupon they caused the king to sende an other Messenger, by whome they were required to come to his Maiestie, assuring them in the worde of a Prince, that there should no iniurie bee offered them, but that they shoulde returne at theyr pleasure: onelie hee desired to bee satisfied from the Prince of *Condé*es owne mouth, touching such matters as hee was charged with: Whereupon, the two Princes relying vpon the kings faythfull promises, repayed to the Court, whither they were no sooner come, but that the Prince of *Condé* was committed to *Charnie*, Captaine of the guard, and by him clapt vppe in prison, where no man might speake vnto him. The king of *Navarre* had no further libertie, then to walke from his owne Chamber to the king, and no man might speake with him but such as pleased the *Gause*, who set spyes enough about him, to obserue his doings. The mother in Lawe likewise of the Prince of *Condé*, and Sister to *Chastillon* the Admirall, was sent to prison, and verie narrowlie looked vnto. Her Closet and all her house was rysted, to find some matter agaynst her: This rough dealing with the chiese Princes of the blood, and other such of great qualitie and calling, made many muse what would be the issue of such outragious designes.

1560

The Prince had not beeene long committed to prison, but there was a priest sent vnto him to say Mass in his Chamber. But hee commaunded him to be thrust out by the heade and shoulders, willing him to tell the King that hee woulde not suffer any such idolatrous seruice in his presence: as also that hee woulde not to saue his life offend the Maiestie of God in so high measure.

*The Prince
shrusth a
Mass priest
out of his
doores by the
head and
shoulders.*

VVhen his enemyes had gotten this aduaantage agaynst him, they so incensed the King, that he forthwith commanded his processe to bee drawne, and sentence of death to be pronounced against him, with commaundement to hasten the execution as speedily as might bee. But while they were earnestlie busied about this matter, and thought euuen nowe to haue attayned to the full period of their desires, the king fell dangerously sick of an vller, growing in his *leth sickes*, ear, which increasing more & more, & the phisitions despairing of his recovery,

*The prince
condemned
to die.*

The death of the French King. the Princes execution, (which should haue beeene the morrow following) was respited for a time, vntill they saw what would become of the king, who euerie day waxing worse and worse, notwithstanding all the meanes that could be devised by the Guises, their solemne vowes to the saints in Paradise, & their publike processions, with earnest prayars for his helth: yet he died the fist day of December, 1560. after he had reigned 17. moneths, to the exceeding grief of the Catholiks, & the great terror of the D. of Guise, and the Cardinall his brother, who had

The horror of the Guises. carried themselves so proudly and arrogantly during all the time of his reigne, that they were extreemly hated of all that were of any vertuous and humble disposition, and therefore were now maruellously afraid, least they should endure some scourge for their former outragious doings, and that horrible confusio[n] which they had brought into the Common-wealth.

CHAP. VII.

Charles the ninth, the French King: the Prince of Conde set at libertie. The discontentment of the Princes of the blood. The King of Nauarre made the Kings Lieutenant. The Constable bandeth with the Guises. The King of Nauarre forsaketh the Protestants. The Triumuirat. The murther at Vassie. The beginning of the first ciuill warres. The death of the King of Nauarre. Dandelot bringeth forces out of Germany for the succour of the Protestants. The battell of Dreux. Poltrot killeth the Duke of Guise. Peace proclaimed.

1561

The Prince of Conde set at libertie.



Raneis the second was no sooner deceased, and that Charles the ninth was come to the Crowne, but all seemed to bee cast in a new mould: especially the state of the Prince of Conde, was incontinently altered: for whereas before hee was accused and condemned of high treason, and should haue beeene executed, had not the malicious purposes of his enemies beeene crossed, by the sudden death of the King: now he was cleared of all the former accusations, and declared innocent of those pretended crimes, and restored to his dignitie and place. The Guises his mortall enemies beganne in all submisse maner to seeke his fauour, and neuer left the Queene mother, vntill shee had accomplished theyr desyres: which was the more readilie brought to passe, forthat they had caused the late King, a day or two before to speake louingly vnto the King of Nauarre, and to affirme that the Guises neuer attempted any thing, eyther agaynst him, or his brother, the Prince of Conde: but that whatsoever was done, was at his commaundement, and that contrarie to theyr counsaile and aduice, hee had caused the saide Prince to bee imptisioned: and therefore hee desired them, for the loue they bare vnto him, that they woulde not conceyue hardly agaynst them, oranie of theirs.

Albeit Nauarre did not beleue this, yet as one loath to raise new stirs, he was content to temporise & dissemble the matter, supposing indeed, that now their pride was abated, and that they would no more carrie themselves so hautily as they had done in times past. But they no more able to change their natures, then the

Then the Leopard her spors, still aspired to haue the gouernment in their hands: and it seemed the Queene mother was well content to giue them some countenaunce, fearing that if they shoulde bee altogether kept vnder by the Princes of the blood, her authoritie would likewise in short tyme be limited: which was a thing that shee could not endure by any meanes. Which being noted by the King of *Navarre*, hee complained to the Queene mother, that those of *Guise* were againe too much sauored, and that they had too great countenance, being preferred before him, who was the chiefe Prince of the blood, and who by the ancient lawes ought to haue the government of the Realme, during the no[n]age of the King: and that he could not endure to see them aduanced, who had alwayes beeene his mortall enemies. And although he were contented to beare much in regard of the loue and dutie he bare vnto her, yet there was no reason why his kindnesse shoulde be so hardly requited. And if it were, he woulde not endure it: and further, if the duke of *Guise* were so neare about the King, he must depart from the Court greatly disconsented.

The Queene mother sought to content *Navarre* with faire wordes, but yet she did not satisfie him as he desired: and therefore the next day, hee with most of the Princes of the blood, the Constable, his sonnes and Nephewes of *Chastillon*, departed from the Court towards *Paris*, highly discontented with the Queenes answere. The Queene mother, who extreemely greeued to see this accident, sent for the Constable to come and speake with her: to whom she caused the King to say, and that in the presence of two Secretaries of estate, who were readie to recorde what was spoken, that seeing hee was the chiefe Officer of the Crowne, and one of whose presence hee stooode in neede of at that instant, he commanded him not to forsake him, as he would answer it at his perill. Which word tooke such place, and made such an impression in the Constables minde, that albeit hee were often summoned by the King of *Navarre*, to stand to his promise, yet he could not be drawne from the Court, but kept him stil with the King: wherupon it was presently voiced, that the Queene mother maintained the *Guises* against the King of *Navarre*, and the rest of the Princes of the blood.

But lefft *Navarre* and his associates shoulde bee too much discontented with this croſſe dealing, it was thought good to practise some newe attencion betweene them and the *Guises*, and to declare *Navarre* the kings lieutenant generall throughout all his dominions: which was accomplished by the meanes of the Constable: so that now *Navarre* was highly honoured, and the *Guises* made Court vnto him. This gaue some comfort vnto the persecuted *Huguenots*, and caused all men to hope for some better gouernement then had beeene of late time: and the rather, for that *Navarre* tolde the Ambassadour of *Denmark*, that within one yere he woulde cause the Gospel to be preached throughout all *France*.

It was a wonder to heare what ioy there was generally, throughout the whole land, and how exceedingly the number of the Protestants were encreas'd in a short tyme, by this little countenaunce which was giuen them. In so much as they coulde hardly finde conuenient places to receive the multitudes, which flockt to the Sermons. Now as there were many who vsed this benefit wisely,

THE MVTABILITIE

wisely, and with great reverence: so there were others, who indiscreetly abused it, exceeding a meane, and hasty running from one extremitie to another, supposing they stooode vpon a better foundation then indeed they did, began to veteo much libertie, to eate flesh, and that vpon such dayes as were forbidden, to condemne festiuall dayes, and many ceremoniall usages, to pul downe images, and deface altars, contrarie to that which had not long before beeene expressly commaunded: which was that the ordering of these things, should bee referred either to a generall, or nationall councell.

The Countess. This boldnesse and rash dealing of many of the reformed, and the dayly in-
ble alienated
from the Adm-
m' ral by the
practise of
the Guise. formations of such like prankes played in many corners of the land, brought the Conestable (who was a very deuout and a religious Papist) into a maruellous dislike with such as were teameed protestants, especially when he saw them at Court eat flesh in Lent, and that there were preachings in the Prince of Cond's chamber, and likewise in the Admirals, and free accessse for al men to come vnto them. Which when the *Guises* perceiued, they likewise vnder the pretext of religion ioyned themselves vnto the Conestable, exasperating him agaynst the Admirall his cousin, for his embrasing of the Gospel, and set the Marechal S. Andrew to whisper him in the eare, that the motion which was made, as touching the calling backe againe of those excessive donations, given by the late King, was a devise of the Admirals, to keepe him being his vncle in awe, and by that practise to cause him to chaunge his Religion. Sundrie others (as Madame Madalyne de Saoy his wife, the Duchesse of Valentinois, & the Count Killiers, put to their helping handes to wher him on: who altogether alienated by these practises, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the Marechal *assemorancie* his sonne, banded against his owne kindred, and associated himselfe *The League.* with the Dukes of Montpensier, and of Guise, who with their leagues and confederations robbed the king of his subiects, and brought into that noble kingdom all disorder and confusion.

The Edict
made at
Fountainbleau.

1561

The Guises
labor to ouer-
throw the
kings Edict.

The *Guises* having got the Conestable to ioyne with them, beganto lift vp theyr heades, and secretly to spread abroade many infamous things agaynst the Admirall, whose confusion of all others they most earnestly desired, wherevpon many grudgings arose, and it was vehemently feared, that some tumultuous accidents would ensue: for the preuenting whereof, there was an *Edict* made at *Fountainbleau*, and sent abroad into all parts of the land, whereby it was forbidden to use any opprobrious words to any of the Kings liege people, and especiallie that one shoulde not call another Papist, or Hugonot, but that all should liue in amitie togither, and not alter any thing which was alreadie establisched, before the king, by the aduice of his councell, had otherwise ordained. The *Guises* could not endure that this peaceable course should bee taken, and therefore (as those who thought it their best to fish in troubled waters) they devised with the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to frustrate this Proclamation, and by many reasons to shew the inualiditie therof, & especially for that therby was tollerated two religions: which (said they) was not to be endured, considering that by this meanes, the whole state was endangered, nay that it was impossible for that cōmon wealth to endure long, where there were such cōtrarieties conserning that there can be no agreemet betwixt god & belial: & a kingdom di-
ded

ded within it self could not continue for any long time. Besides, the Cardinal of *Lorrays* made many greevous complaints against those of the Religion, saying that their assemblies and conuenticles waxed greater every day then other, that there were soule and villanous disorders committed by them in their nocturnall meetings; that they were people without order, without conscience or any ciuill humanitie, and that they neither feared God nor the King.

The Cardinall of Lorraine
made com-
plaints of
the assem-
blies of the
Protestants.

These and the like complaints much moued the Queene mother, & gladly she would haue repressed these assemblies, if shee had knowne how. But the countenance of the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall *Rochefaucon*, *Dandolo*, and diuers other of the Nobilitie, did encourage many to persist, and drew on others by their examples, with great earnestnes to embrace the gospel, in so much as at length they finding themselues very strong, and wel countenanced by great estates, seised vppon sundrie of the Catholikes Churches, and preached publikely in the view of all men, and that in *Paris*, the principall Citie of the whole land: yea, the Gospel preuailed so mightily in a short space, that it was founde by the diligent enquiry of the Admirall, that there were 2150. congregations that made profession therof: which vexed the Guyles to the heart, who by their cunning handling of the matter, had by this time brought the Constable in such hatred therewith, and with his cousins the three Chastillons, that both hee and the Guyles with all their fauourits, departed the Court in a great chafe, for that they sawe such fauour shewed to the poore Hugonots.

2150.con-
gregations of
the pros-
testants in
France.

While the Protestants were thus graced at their princes hands, and that all things seemed to go well with them, there fell out a strange accident to croise that happy course of the Gospel, and a most devillish pollicie was vsed to overthrow the reformed Religion, well neere established in most of all the principall Cities, and cheefest villages of the Realme: and that was this.

The King of *Navarre*, albeit hee fauoured the Religion, and countenanced the professours thereof in very good sort, and that for a good while together: yet beeing a man easily seduced, and almost of no courage or resolution in any thing that hee tooke in hand, was led by others, and by faire words carryed hither and thither at euerie mans pleasure: which the Guyles and their associats perceiving, practised sundrie waies to draw him to theyr faction, assuring themselves that if hee might be gained, theyr side would bee strong inough: and that *Conde*, the Admirall, and all the rest of their confederates would bee made to stoope whether they would or not. The better to effect this, they practised with the Cardinall of *Ferrara*, the Popes Legat, and with the Cardinall of *Turnon*, who hauing by rich gifts, and large promises, gained two of his principall seruants, did in the ende likewise win the maister, by a notorious and deep dissimuled devise. They put into his head a phantaſtically conceit, assuring him that if hee would become a Catholike, and continue in the Apostolike Romane faith, that the King of *Spaine* would giue him the kingdome of *Sardinia*, from the which was foure times so good as *Navarre*, and that the Popish and Spanish gallies shold bee at his commaundement for the defence thereof against all men: some also went about to perswade him to diuorce himselfe from his Wife, and to marrie with the Queene of *Scots*, a yong, faire, and beautifull widow,

The Cardin-
als of Ferr-
ara and
Turnon were
with the K. of
Navarre
w. the Gospel.

THE MVTABILITIE

The King of Navarre widow, the daily soliciting of such as were employed in this busynesse, & their manifold remonstrances, tooke such place, that his whole mind was set vpon *Sardinia*, whatsoeuer could be saide to the contrarie by any friend he had. The Queene of *Navarre* understanding this, sought by all meanes to diuert him, setting before his eyes his many and solemne promises both to God and man, and that if hee should now abandon his friendes, all the world would criue out of him. But all was in vaine, for he began to decline euery day morethen other, and in short time did vitterly forsake his profession, combining himselfe with the *Guyfes*, his mortall and worne enemies.

The Queen mother plays on both hands. The Queene mother did all this while very cunningly carrie her selfe, and became (as it were) a newter betweene both, enclining rather to the Catholikes, purposing (in deede) howsoeuer religion went, to take the strongest part, and therfore she entertained the prince of *Conde* & the admiral with faire words, promising them wonders, and for a better shewe countenanced the preachings all that might bee. howbeit, she fauoured the Catholikes in her heart, and began to make but light of the daily complaints of the protestants.

The Triumvirate. The league which before had bin made betwene the Conestable, the *Guyse*, and the mareschall Saint *Andrew*, afterwards called the *Triumvirate*, having gained the king of *Navarre*, became very strong, insomuch as they hasted to *Paris*, thereto fortifie themselues, and to procure so much as they might, an abolishment of those Edicts and proclamations which had beeene published in fauour of the reformed Church. The king of *Navarre* began to frowne on his cousins of *Chastillon*, and to speake a loofe off vnto them: which made them to forsake the Court, and to retire to their own houses, for feare least there should bee some quarrell picked against them. The prince of *Conde* complayned marueilously of those strange fashions of his brother, and resolutely stod in the fauour of the protestants: and the better to prevent all inconueniences, put himselfe within *Paris*, thereto prouide for the countenancing of the refoumed Churches, and to see that the Kings edicts should bee executed, and peace maintained so much as might bee.

1562. The *Triumvirate* being wel acquainted with all these proceedings, & knowing the courage and magnanimous minde of the Prince, which would not bee daunted with words, thought it their best to come strongly appointed, and either by faire meanes or by soule to seise vpon the person of the King, and the Queene mother: which if they might once effect, they doubted not but the rest of their deuises would be accomplished well enough.

The murderer as Vassy by the Duke of Guyse. The Duke of *Guyse*, desirous to bee with the formost at this audacious enterprize, forgot not to ioyne with his associats at the appoynted time, and passing by *Vassy* with a great troupe of armed men, vnderstanding that there was a Sermon not farre off, where many of the Hugonots were assembled, soudainely set vpon them, and in most cruell and outragious sort, put them all to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor childe, to the great horror of the beholders of so pittious a tragedy, and to the high dishonor of the King, by whose edict not long before, they were allowed their preachings and libertie of their conscience. After which barbarous fact he hasted to *Paris*, there to effect the rest of his diabolical deuises. The newes of this horrible murther beeing

(being quickly blowne abroad) came no sooner to the eares of the Protestants, but they began to lay their wits together, and to prouide for their safetie. Many of the nobility which had made profession of the gospel, repaire to the prince of *Conde*, who was in *Paris*, there to take aduise what course were best to be vsed in so perious & dangerous times: where it was concluded, that before they would rise in armes, they would first seeke for justice by the ordinary course appointed: whereupon they complained to the King, the Queene mother, and the King of *Navarre*, desiring that the Duke of *Guyse*, who was now vp in armes and marching towards *Paris*, might bee commanded to come in more peaceable manner, and to answere those greeuous complaints made against him, and his contemptuous and disobedient proceedings against the Kings lawes. The Queen mother seemed to hearken vnto them, but the king of *Navarre* flatly answered, that hee which touched the little finger of the Duke of *Guyse*, touched his whole body, and that hee would not endure that he should be wronged <sup>The prince
of Conde also
ketb for in-
justice against
the Guyse,
but cannot be
beard.</sup>

By this time was the Duke of *Guyse* come to *Paris*, accompanied with the Constable, the Duke of *Aumale*, the mareschall of Saint *Andrew*, *Randan*, and with a great troupe of other his associats, where he was receiued with the acclamations of lundrie other his supposts, *Vine Guyse*, *Vine Guyse*, as if the K. himselfe had entred. There likewise repaire to the Prince of *Conde* great numbers of his friendes and followers: so that the Cittie was full of armed men, diuided into two contrarie factions. The Citizens fearing that there would bee some <sup>The Guyse
received with
great acclas-
mations into
Paris.</sup>

vprore, and that some dangerous accident would ensue among so many enemies and discontented persons, besought the Prince, that for the loue and fauor which they had alwaies borne to the Princes of the bloud, and in especiall to the house of *Conde*, it would please him to haue compassion vpon the Parisians, who now stood in great feare of their liues and losse of their goods, if any tumultuous stirre should happe, by reason their Cittie swarmed with a multitude of souldiers, whom they knewe not how to bee ridde of, vnlesse it might please him whom they had alwaies knowne to bee of a very milde and peaceable nature, to withdrawe himselfe and his troupes to some other place: which course as they were assured, it would bee the safest for theyr Cittie, so they doubted not but it would be most honourable vnto him, and an euident argu-<sup>* The prince
of Conde less-
sing Paris at
the request of
the Parisians
the Guyse.</sup>

Whereto the Prince answered, that hee for his part was very willing to leave the Cittie, if the *Guyse* would do the like: which thing beeing promised that it shuld be performed, * the prince was no sooner departed, but there were strong ^{seisib upon it} guards sette at the gates to keepe him from reentering: and so was the Prince expellid, and the *Guyse* remained maister of the Cittie. This beeing brought to passe, the *Triumvirate* presently marched towards the Court, and theretooke the king, the Queene mother, and the Kings brethren, whome they brought to *Paris*, and forthwith determined to proclaim wars against the Prince of *Conde*, and all his associats. The Prince beeing enformed of these proceedings, sent <sup>The Trium-
virate seisib
uppon the K.</sup>

Dandolo brother to the Admirall, to seise vpon *Orleans*; which (though with some difficultie) hee accomplished: whether *Conde* shortly repaired, and <sup>The begins
ning of the
first civil
wars.</sup>

tooke

THE MVTABILITIE

ooke possession of the Towne to the kings vte. Now was the warre open on all sides, and the Reformed persecuted in most cruell maner in euery place, especially at *Paris*, where nothing was more common then murthering, spoiling, and pilling the poore Hugonots: yea, such was the rage of the barbarous Catholikes, that the Prince of *Conde* passing through a village called *Vaudray*, was set vpon beeing in her Coach and great with childe, and by hurling and throwing of stones by sundrie of the townesmen, at the instigation of a popish priest, put in hazard of her life, wherewith shee was so terrifid, that shee was deliuered before hertime of two twins shortly after, and at length with much adoo, arriued at *Orleance* with her eldest sonne the marquesse of *Conty*: where shee found the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall, *Dandolo*, and many other principall persons of the Religion, who were busied in gathering forces, and prouiding al necessarie meanes to withstande their enemies. There were letters written to the Emperour *Ferdinando*, and the Princes of the Empire, enforing them of the occasion of their bearing of arms, and of the usurped authoritie of the Guyses and their adherents, earnestly beseeching them to haue some commiseration of the King, who being a Child, was held in captiuitie by their tyranny, and al things likely to be brought to a woful desolatyon throughout the realme of *France*.

*The Prince had no sooner gathered a great power about him, & was growne strong by reason of a stilly brought vnto him out of *Poitou*, and *Xantogne*, of three or fourte hundred horse, by the count *Rochfacont*, but that it was thought best to be doing, and to employ some of his forces in getting of certaine strong townes, and other well fortified places neere adioyning: and thereupon certain troupes were sent downe along by the Riuer of *Loyre*, who tooke *Man*, *Bangency*, and others, wherein they placed certaine garrisons, to keepe them from beeing regained by the enemy, who now fought continually to annoy the Prince, and to take the aduantage that was offered.*

*Sundrie Cities in *France*, as *Angiers*, *Thalouz*, *Lymorx*, with many others, wherin therewere thousands of the reformed Religion, seeing that the Prince was growne strong, and very able to confront his enemies, began to shewe themselves openly, and to stande with the rest of their confederates: whereupon soorthwith there ensued a mortall hatred betweene them and the Catholikes, each seeking the ouerthrow of others by all possible meanes. Then immediatly followed robbing, spoiling, rauishing, murthering, & massacring, in most outragious maner, with a maruaillous confusyon in every corner of the Land. No man could well tell whom to trust, or where to dwell in safetie. The cheefe Cities were fraught with garrisons, the small villages were sacked and burned by such as cared neither for God nor the deuill, but onely how to enrich themselves. Infinite were the miseries in all quarters, and nothing almoft heard of but weeping, wailing, and lamentation, and no hope of any redresse of so incomprehensible mischieves.*

*The Prince of *Conde* and his associats pondering in their minds the wofull desolatyon that was like to ensue, if therewere not some present remedy for these diabolical proceedings, wrote diuers letters to the King, the Queene mother, and the King of *Navare*, beseeching them to take some commiseration vpon the*

*The Prince
esse of Conde
assailed in his
Coach by the
Papists.*

*Conde tas
kesh certaine
townes upon
the Loyre.*

*The misery
of the civil
warrs.*

the poore and delolate people, and that by suffering the subiect to vse his con-
science so long as he liued in obedience and according to the kings Edict, France
might enioy her former peace, and not be brought to that horrible desolation,
which doth inseparably accompanie ciuill and intestine warres : but the *Guye*
(who in deede with the Cardinall his brother ruled therost) could not endure
to heare of any peace, but daily and houerly cryed out, to muster men, to ga-
ther souldiers, to send for the kings bannes and arierbannes, and with fire and
sword to persecute the poore protestants. And hauing by their damnable prac-
tises gotten an armie, marched towards *Orleance* with great furie. The contede-
rates beeing daily aduertised by their espials of the approch of the Catholikes,
thought it best to meeete them by the way, and if oportunitie serued, to giue
them battaile, being especially mooued thereunto by the continuall perswasions
of the Admirall, and the couragious resolution of all in generall.

The Duke
of Guyse cri-
eth out for
war.

Wherupon the prince tooke the field the nineteenth of June, 1562. with three
Regiments of footmen, amounting to the number of 33. Ensignes, whose Col-
lonels were *Gnamont*, *Fontenay*, the yongest sonne of the vicont of *Robam*, and 1. of *Conde* was
uy brother to *Genlis*, with two thousand horse encamped at *Vanfoudun*, neere
vnto *Orleance*, and directly in the way towardes *Bangency*. The Catholikes ha-
uing not as yet al their forces in a readinesse, thought it best to amuse the Prince
with a parle of peace, in which action the Queene mother was thought the
meest to be employed: who so handled the matter, that the Protestants (who
longed after nothing so much as quietnesse) were readily drawne to hearken
thereto: onely they required, that before any thing wastalked of, the Conesta-
ble, the Duke of *Guye*, and the marquesse Saint *Andrew* should withdraw them-
selues to their houses, and then the Prince of *Conde* should come to the King to
treate of that, which especially tended to the peaceable state of the common
wealth, and the welfare of euery particular man.

The Prince
keth the
field,

This was no sooner mooued by the Protestants, but it was accepted by the
Queene mother, so that immediatly those three principall Catholikes departed
from the Court, and went as farre as *Chasteaudan*, where they stayed to expect
the sequell of their secret counsels. The Prince vnderstanding of theyr depa-
ture, went presently vnto the K. putting himself into the hands of the Queene
mother, and other his enemies: but he was no sooner come to the Court, but he
forthwith repented of his haste, and beeing aduertised by sundry, of his immi-
nent perill and danger, pollitikely obtained of the Queen mother, that the prin-
cipall men of his Armie might likewise come to knowe her further pleasure:
which beeing granted, hee wrote a secret letter vnto them of his estate, desiriting
them to hasten, and to come strongly accompanied.

Conde puts
himselfe
into the
hands of his
enemies.

A politike
desire of the
Prince.

The next day early in the morning there came the Admirall, *Dandelot*, *Roch-*
faucent, the Prince *Portian*, *Roban*, *Genlis*, *Gramont*, *Soubize*, *Piennes*, and many o-
ther lords & Captains, with a far greater retinew then the Queen expected: so
that nowe shethought it best to make fayre weather, and to sooth them vp,
considering (indeed) that shee was not able to detayne the Prince any longer
then hee himselfe listed, and therefore in very gracious maner shee bad them al
welcome, and openly in the presence of all the Nobilitie, shee gaue them great
thanks, for their true and faithfull seruice towardes the king, assuring them
that

that shee (for her parte) did thinke very honourably of all their proceedings, and did not doubt but the King her sonne would bee mindfull hereafter to exacte compence so many deserts, seeing it was very apparant that both his estate and her owne was maintained by their royll servises. They againe humbly thanked her maestie for her good opinion, beseeching her to continue their gracieous Lady, and to bee a meanes that there might bee an ende of those miseries, which nowe so fearfully threatened the crowne of France, promising for their parts to bee most ready to employ their whole studys, yea, their goods, and liues, and whatsoeuer other meanes they had to assist her maestie, in so good and laudable an action, so that they might enjoy a peace, with a free exercise of their Religion, according to the Kings edict.

They further declared vnto the Queen mother, the manifold greviances of the kings subiects, with a meanes to remedie so many & so lamentable disorders, to al which & sundry other remonstrances, albeit she seemed to give some allowances, yet for that shee stood so stiffly against the free exercise of Religion, and would needes vrge the Prince to depart the Realme (as indeed he had promised, rather then hee would bee any occasion of the continuance of ciuill wars, albeit presently vpon better and more mature consideration hee repented him of the speech) there could bee nothing concluded. Whereupon the

The Prince of Conde returned to his camp, exceeding glad that God had deliuered him out of the snares of his enemies, and resolued with all, for his forces to fightit out, and to hazard his fortune alioone as any oportunitie was offered. With this resolution he dislodged and marched towards the Catholikes, hauing in his army ten thousand fiue hundred footmen, and a thousand horse. Now when he approached the enemie, hauing disposed his troupes in very warlike maner, he twice presented the battaile, but the Catholikes refused, for that all their forces were not as yet assembled.

The Prince seeing hee could not drawe them out of their strength, hauing braued them in the faces, and maintained some light skirmishes with them, retired towardes Orleans, sending abroad into all quarters to prouide all necessaries for the warres : and for the more speedy accomplishment heereof, it was decreed that Soubize shoulde bee sent to Lyons, Rochefaucont into Xaintoigne, Duras into Guyen, and Briquemant into Normandy, and so into England, to procure both men and money, and as many friendes as might be gotten. Dandolo was likewise sent into Germany, to hasten such succours as were promised by the Princes Protestants. Conde, and the Admirall, with the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen, with two and twenty ensignes of footmen remained stil in Orleans.

By this time were the forces which came out of Germany to the aide of the Catholikes in a readinesse to march vnder their Collonelles, Rokendorf, Frewlich, and the Ringraue, who besides certaine Cornets of Reisters, had likewise twentie ensignes of Lansquenits. These were no sooner arrived at the campe, but that the Trimmurate thought it best to employ them with al the rest of their forces against the Hugonots, and that before they should haue any aide come out of Germany. For the hastening whereof, Dandolo hadde assayed all possible meanes, and had so politikely handled the matter, that notwithstanding all the

Forces sent out of Germany to aide the Catholikes.

the practises of his enemies, hee procured great ayde for the strengthening of the cause.

The Catholikes were long in suspence whether they should besiege *Or- The Ca- leance, or Roban*, the principall Citie in *Normandie*: but at last, they resolued to assay their forces agaynst *Rohan*. Where hauing first gayned the fort of *Saint Ka- therins*, which commaunded the towne, through the treacherie of the captaine, who was corrupted with money and faire promises, they foorthwith entred by force, killing, spoyling and murthering the inhabitants in most cruell and horrible manner, and making hauocke of all thinges without pittie or mercie. *Augustine Marolat*, a famous learned man, and chiefe Minister of the Towne, was there hanged, with *Maurerill* the president of the Parliament, besides sundrie other of speciall account. The Catholikes lost manie of theyr brauest men: and amongst others the King of *Nauarre*, who beeing shot with a Harquebus in the left shoulder, as hee was making water in the Trenches, dyed the seventeenth of September following: neuer attaining that *Marolat banded.* *The King of Nauarre wounded to death.*

Maritime Kingdome, the hope whereof had so bewitched him, that he forgot wife, children, kinsfolks, friends, Religion, yea, and God himselfe, and thought of nothing but of the *Sardinian Crowne*: beeing happie in nothing but in this, that hee dyed in the beginning of the Ciuell warres, and neuer lyued to see the miserie of his owne Countrey, whereof hee had beene a chiefe and principall cause.

The losse of this Citie being a place of so great importance, was a marueilous discouragement vnto many, who stood but faintly to their tacklings before, and had (no doubt) wrought a more daungerous effect, had not this breach beeene repayed, or at least well amended, by the surpassing care and prouident circumspectnesse of *Dandelot*, who so plied his friends in *Germany*, that he had gathered about 3300. horse, and 4000. footmen, with whom there met the Prince *Portion* at *Strausbourge* with 100. French horse. The ioiful news of which power encouraged the confederates to hold out, in hope of their future help, and maruellously animated such, as before were exceedingly daunted with the remembrance of their former losses. These new supplies marched towards *Lorrain*, and passing ouer the riuier of *Seine*, trauerſed the country by *Tonne*, *Crenen*, & *Montargis*, and arriuied at *Orleance*, in despite both of the duke of *Nevers*, and the Maſtiffall *S. Andrew*, who were ſent to stop their paſſage, with 14. companies of men of Armes, 16. cornets of Argoletters, 25. enſignes of footmen, 9. companies of faulces, and 13. of light horſe, beſides the old troupes of *Picardie*, vnder the leading of *Pagan*, *Monsales*, *Giury*, *Crenay*, and many other Chieftaines. This noble and valiant *Dandelot*, gayned a verie honourable report, euen of his enemies, for ſo wiſe and politique a conduct, in ſomuch as hee was not onely reputed a Gentleman of ſurpaſſing courage, and of an vndaunted ſpirit in greatest perils, but alſo a leader of excellent ſkill, and deepe foresight to prevent all daun- *Dandelot esteemed for* gers: About the ſame instant there met with him alſo *Rochfacont*, and *Duras*, an excellent captain with ſomethree hundred horſe, and a thouſand five hundred footmen, alwhich were no ſooner assembled at *Orleance*, but that the Prince determined to take the field: and hauing prouided all thinges in a readinesſe, departed towarde *Phiniers*, and ſo to *Baugencie*: both which places were quickelye gayned from

from the Catholikes, with the strong Towne of *Ecoups*: where was founde great store of prouision, as Corne, Wine, Powder, shot, and all necessaries for the warres.

*The Prince
of Condé
marcheth to
wards Paris.*

The Prince after some small stay to repose his wearied troupes, marched on towards *Paris*, which he no sooner approched, & that the bands vnder the leading of the *P. Portian*, and *Mony*, had giuen in so farre as the suburbs of *S. Victor*, but that all the Citie was in an vprore, and euery man at their wittes ende: so wonderfullly were they daunted with the sight of the Princes armie, albeit they were not past eight thousande footemen, and some five or sixe thousande horse. Whereas there were within the Citie at the least, a hundred thousand able to beare armes, hauing the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Mareschals, and in a manner all the braue leaders of *Fraunce*, for their chieftaines and commaunders. But such was their timorousnesse, that they kept themselues close, albeit the battell was presented vnto them twise at the least, and onelie amased the Prince with certaine conditions of peace, about the which there were manie meetings. In the end all being found to be but meere delayes, and onelie to gaine time, vntill the comming of the Spaniardes, the Prince resolued to assaile the enemie in his Trenches: but the same night, which was appoynted for this exployte, and immediately before it shoulde haue beene put in execution, *Genlis* a principall man among the Protestants, secretely fledde to the Catholikes: which vnaexpected accident quite altered the councell of the Confederates, supposing that now there was some aduertisement giuen of their intended enterprise: and therefore they deferred the execution of that project, vntill some oþertyme. But by reason of the wants that were in the Armie, as the penurie of victuals, and other necessaries, as also a secrete discontentment among the straungers, for that they lacked theyr pay, it was agreed to stay no longer before *Paris*, which was not so easie to bee gotten, nor in so short a tyme, as was requisite to supplie theyr present necessarie, but to dislodge and to retire towards *New-bauen*, there to attende such succours as were expected out of *England*. By the way the Prince tooke *Galardon*, a towne of good importancie, where he stayed to giue some breath to his wearyed troupes, and to accommodate his armie of such things as were most necessarie.

*The prince
leaueth Paris
and marcheth to
wards New
bauen.*

*The bason
of Drenx,*

The Catholikes coasted him all the way, watching to catch him at some aduantage: howbeit nothing was attempted vntill both the camps were come unto *Drenx*, where they approched so neare, and either partie had so farre engaged themselues, that there was no remedie, but they must needs fight: so that now each Generall began to bethinke of all good meanes for the strengthening of himselfe, and the weakening of his enemyes. The Catholikes had made choyse of a verie strong place to encampe in, beeing neare vnto *Drenx*, wherein there was a garrison of their affociates, and likewise adioyning vnto a wood, which was a verie fit and conuenient place, to effect diuers stratagems. There was a large and spacious plaine, through which there ran a little valley, seruing as it were for the bounds and limits of both armies. The Constable hauing gotten this aduaantage, presented himselfe in battell array, at the head of the vilage, vpon the toppe of a little hill, hauing placed two strong battaylons

of footemen in the towne, which shold gard fourteene Cannons: so planted, that they were ready to play vpon the army of the confederates, as soone as the signall shold be giuen. Each bataillon was flanked with certaine troupes of horse, as it were for a mutuall succour one for another, with their *Enfans perdus* in their fronts, and those of the choyest of all their regiments. They had the River *Eure* at their backs, and espying that they were likely to come to a triall of their fortune, they forthwith emparked themselves betweene two villages, in a place of more aduantage then before.

The Mareschall S. *Andrea* led the auantgard, which was composed of nine companies of French launces, thirteene ensignes of Spaniards, with as manie French, and eleven of Almaines, with foure field peeces: all which were aranged on the left side of the Conestable, who led the maine bataile, further aduaanced then eyther the Mareschall, or the Duke of *Guise*, wherein were seuenteeene Cornets of men of Armes, and three of light horsemens, with two and twentie ensignes of Zwitzers, seuenteeene of French and Britons, and eyght peeces of great Ordinance. The Duke of *Guise* led the rewarde, which seemed to flanke the bataile of the Conestable on the right side, with a strong troupe of horsemen, and two esquadrons of Spanish footemen, with sundrie others his followers, men of especiall account, and much renowned for their valiancē.

The prince had so aranged his batailes, that the horsemen wherein they ouermatched his enemies, were in the form of rankes, and taking vnto himselfe *Rochefancont*, with certaine light horsemens of *Gurres* companie, with some other Cornets led by *Mony*, and *Auarell*, besides a troupe of Reisters, all which serued as flankers for his bataillon of footemen, resoluē to encounter the Conestable, who seemed to be readie to giue the charge.

Each generall hauing disposed of all things in this warlike sort, the great artillarie began to vomit out their devillrie, and the Conestable prepared to assaile the bataile of the Prince, which hasted in like maner to the encounter, and that with so stately and superbious a dismarch, that it gaue evident testimonie, that it was led by a generall of noble courage, and great experience. The Prince charged the Zwitzers, who valiantly endured the first shotte, and stode to it verie manfully. But at length by reason of the smal shot which haled vpon them without ceasing, and somwhat cleared their ranks, they began to giue ground, which the valiant and couragious *Mony* espying, incorporating his troupes with *Monsieur de Daneret*, set on them with such furie, that he made them flie amaine. And being seconded by the Prince, wholy defeated them, as renowned Pykemen as they were. The Reisters, who followed the Princes good fortune, gaue in with great courage, committing a maruellous carnage and mortalitie vpon their enemies. At the same instant the Admirall charged the Conestable, and that so lustily, that his men began to shrinke, and he himselfe being wounded in the face with a Curtelas, and sore bruised with small pistol shot, was forced to yeeld to *Veznes*. But the Reisters passing by at that instant, tooke him away by force, and carried him to the Prince, as a prisoner of their owne. The rest of the Conestables bataile was quickly defeated, and no hope left for the Catholikes, had not the Duke of *Guise* reserved his forces, whole and entyre, and with a

THE MVTABILITIE

sudden charge crossed the happy course of the victorious Prince: whose battalions of footmen being bared of their horse, could not endure the surious assault of the Guisards, but fled as fast as they could to saue their liues: notwithstanding all the encouragement vised by *Dandolo*, who perswaded them all that he might to abide their enemies.

Conde taken prisoner.

Moreover *Dauville* one of the sonnes of the Constable, espying the princes horsemens disordered with purlling their victory, charged them before they could be rallied afresh, and hauing first wounded *Conde* in the hand, and then slain his horse, ihe red crosses so prested on him on all sides, before he could be remoued, that he was constrained to yeeld himself prisoner, to the immeasurable grief of all the confederates. The Admirall gathering together so manie as possible he might, of his dispersed troupes, gaue a fresh charge vpon the *Guise*. where there was a sore and cruell fight: but for that he was not able to match his enemies, after the death of many braue men on both sides, he retired to *Newfau*, leauing the honour of that iourney to the *Guise*. At the last encounter were slaine the Mareischall of S. *Andrew*, *Monbrune*, the Constables sonne, the Lord *Pierres*, *Annebant*, *Broffy*, *Giury*, and many other leaders. The Duke of *Aumale* was greeuously hurt, and likewise the Duke of *Nevers*, who dyed shortly after.

*The Mass
Dinobus
faith, that
there were
10000. Cas
sholikes slaine*

The Mass

reſchel S. An

drew slaine.

1563

The principall prisoners which were taken, were the Constable, who was forthwith sent to *Orleans*, with *Orayson*, *Rochfort*, *Eſcianoles*, and ſundrie other Gentlemen of good account. There were slain on the Princes ſide verieneare a thouſand five hundred footmen, ſeven hundred Almains, & ſome foure hundred horſe, as *Dinobus* reporteth. The principall of which were, the Baron of *Arpion*, *Saux*, *Shanden*, *Liencourt*, *Fredomere*, *Carliere*, *Rongnac*, *Mazelles*, *Saint Germier*, al which for the moft part were of the Comte of *Mont*, who was taken priſoner at this laſt conflict.

*The D. of
Guise choſe a
general ouer
the Catho-
like, and the
Admirall
ouer the pro-
teſtant.*

The newes of this batteile was verie vncertaine: each ſide ſuppoſing, yea, and conſtantly reporting their owne ouerthowē. But vpon more certaine intelligence, how that both Generals were taken, and that they had parted in a maner with equall loſſe, each faction beganne to rowle vp themſelues, and to hope for better ſuccesse in their future wars: wherupon they refolved to choose them new Generals, vntill the old were againe reſtored to libertie. The duke of *Guise* was thought the meeteſt to commaund ouer the Catholikes, and the Admirall ouer the confederates, who pondering their harmes lately receiued by the death of ſo many braue men, and their want of many neceſſaries requifit for to keepe the field, thought it beſt to retire, the one to *Paris*, the other to *Orleans*, and there to repair their broken armes.

The Duke of *Guise* lay not long idle, but affayed to recover certaine townes from the Confederates, as *Pluniers*, *Eſtamps*, and ſome others. The Admirall on the other ſide, beeing as carefull to maintaine heade agaينſt the enemie, beſieged *Selles* in *Berry*, which was yeelded vpon composition: where he found good ſtore of gold and ſiluer for the payment of his Reifters. *Rochfacon* tooke *S. Agnan*: and the Prince *Portian*, entered *Monrichard*. The gayning of which Townes greatly countenanced the wauering estate of the Protestants. Thus did theſe two armyes flore vp and downe, each ſeeking to encroach vpon other ſo much as might bee. At length the Admirall espying the drift

of

of the *Guise*, which was to inuest *Orleans* on the sudden, put himself with all his forces within the Citie. Where notwithstanding vpon better aduice, he remayned not long, but marched towards *Normandie*, to meet with the Englishmen, *The admiral* whose landing was dayly expected at *New-bauen*, which was the place appoin-*goeth to-wards New-bauen, to mee with the Englishmen.*

The Queene mother being aduertised hereof, laboured to stop his intended voyage, by propounding a parle of peace: but the Admirall being well acquainted with iuch stratagems, would in nowise hearken thereto, but folowed his formed project, and so with some 3000. horse passingly well furnished, and far better then at the battel of *Dreux*, held on his course. And being a man of great experience, and singular expedition in all his enterprises, he surprised on the sudden sundry places, which proued afterward of no small moment, for the aduancing of the affaires of the confederates.

The duke of *Guise* hauing his armie in a readinesse, and vnderstanding of the Admirals departure from *Orleans*, leauing *Dandelot* his brother for the guarde thereof, vntill his returne, thought it best to besiege them who were there assembled, while the Admirall with the flower of all their troupes was busied other wheres. With this resolution he dislodged, and planted his siege about the towne, which he so sore battered, and courageously assailed, that the Citie was *of Guise besieged Orleans.* in imminent perill, and all the confederates were in a wonderfull feare, least it should haue beene taken. Yea, the Duke so assured himselfe thereof, that hee wrote to the King and Queene Mother, that he hoped now to extirpe the race of the *Hugonots*, who had for so many yeares troubled the whole land, and that he would send them newes therof within foure and twentie houres. But while he was thus in his ruffe, firmly persuading himselfe that all was his, bebold, there fell out a straunge and vnexpected accident, which brake the necke of all his deuiles.

There was a poore Gentleman named *John Poltrat*, one of verie little stature, but full of spirite and lyfe, and generally reputed of such as best knewe him, to bee somewhat a rash headed fellow, and verie vndiscreete, and one that durst attempt any thing. Whobeing brought vp for a long time in *Spaine*, had learned the language verie perfectly: And for that both for his colour, complexion, and stature, he was so like vnto them of that nation, he was commonly called the little Spaniard.

This fellow seruing sometime vnder *Soubize*, who commaunded at *Lyons*, woulde often vaunt, that this was the hande (stretching outhis arme) that shoude kill the Duke of *Guise*, and deliuer *Fraunce* from that monstrous and cruell Tyrant. And this hee vsually uttered in great brauerie: so that as manie as heard him, knowing the humour of the man, laughed at his follie, little imagining that hee meant as hee sayde, for if hee had, then it was lykely hee woulde haue kept his purpose more secrete, and not haue beene so open mouthed. It happened so, that immediately after the battaile of *Dreux*, *Soubize* sent this *Poltrat* with a Letter to the Admirall, who was nowe at *Selles in Berrie*: whither hee was no sooner come, but that *Fesquieres*, whome hee had serued in former tymes in the warres in *Puytardie*, knowing him to bee a man of seruice, commended him to the Admirall,

THE MVTABILITIE

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Admirall, saying : that he was a fit man to bee employed to discouer somewhat of the enemys proceedings about Orléance, for that he shoulde bee taken for a Spaniard , and so a fauourer of theyr designes . Wherupon the Admirall gaue him twentie Crownes , and sent him to Orléance : where hee continued not long , but hauing got as good intelligence as he coulde , returned backe to do his mesage .

The Admyrall lyking the man well for his diligence , and secrecie in matters of such importaunce , gaue him an hundred Crownes , and bidde him buy him a good Horse , that hee might with more celerite dispatch his busynesse . With this money Poltror bought him a verie excellent Spanish Generall , and leauing the Admirall , went backe to the Guises Campe , where he awayted some oportunitie to put in execution his intended purpose . Which shortly after fell out : for hee espying the Duke somewhat late in the euening ryding towardes his Tent vpon a little Nagge , onely attended on by a Gentleman Vsher which went before him , and an other which talked with him : hee approached as neare as hee could , and discharged his pistoll vpon the Duke , hitting him in the shoulder , wounded him verie sore , and so turning his horse , fled as fast as he could . And hauing ridden all that night by by-wayes , for feare of those who pursued him , he not knowing which way he went , wadred vp and downe , & in the end came againe almost to the place where hee committed the fact . Which when he perceiued , he rode all the day folowing , with as much speed as possibly might be , to get out of the danger of his pursuing enemies . But hauing with continuall trauell wearied both himselfe and his horse , he rested at a farm house , where he was taken vpon suspition , and committed to safe keeping for his further triall . Being examined , and found culpable , he was adiudged to be drawn in peeces with fourre horses : to haue his head cut off , and his torne boelite to be burnt to ashes .

*Poltror
drawne in
peeces with
horses.*

*The Duke of Guise died
within seuen
or eight daies
after his hurt*
This sudden blow did maruellously dismay the Catholikes , and therather for that it appeared to be deadly , and not possible to be healed : For he waxed worse euerie day then other , and died very shortly after , to their unspeakable greefe : who had repos'd their whole confidence in him , and to the great rejoycing of the confederates , whose deadly & sworne enemies he was alwayes accounted . And this was the end of that turbulent spirity & ambitious Guise , who as he had massacred many : so he in the end was murthered by others , and that euen then when he thought least of any danger : nay rather fully perswaded himselfe well neare to haue attained to the full period of his wished desires . So vncertaine is the state and condition of the greatest , and most mighty personages in this variable and changeable world .

*Peace pres-
claimed in the
Campe before
Orléance.*
The Guise was no sooner dead , but there ensued a present alteration : and those conditions which had beeene before propounded , were forthwith fully agreed vpon , & so was there a peace proclaimed the 19. of March folowing at S. Memen , in the campe before Orléance , wherewithall sorts in generall seemed to bee maruellously well contented , hoping to be freed frō those horrible miseries , wherewith they had bin afflicted for so many yeres . And indeed albeit this pacification held but for a while , yet did the whole land reape great fruite thereby , and acknowledg'd the gracious goodness of the Almighty , in that it had pleased him

him to give them some respite, and to make an end of their Ciuell warres. But this blest peace could not continue long, by reason there fell out many occasions of discontentment to either faction, by meanes wherof they were soone entangled afresh in their former sorrowes and vexations.

CHAP. VIII.

The seditions humours of the Cardinall of Lorraine. The Admirall accused for the death of the Duke of Guyle. The complaints of the Protestants. The League made at Bayon. The King refuseth to hear the Protestants. The second ciuell warre. Paris besieged by the Protestants.



He Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and brother to the deceased Duke of *Guyse*, the especiall instrument of all these calamities which hadde continued for so long time in that noble kingdome of *France*, inwardly vexed to see such a peaceable estate, knowing full well that it did not stande with his commoditie and profit, to see the Princes of the bloud to bee fauoured at the Court, neither yet the Nobilitie and Gentlemen to liue in

The Cardinall of Lorraine seeketh new occasions of strife.

peace and amitie one with another, and all sorts as brethren to liue enely together, deuised a way to set all men againt together by the eares, and to embarke themselves into newe troubles. He therefore with the assent of his associats, spread abroade diuers calumnies, and slanderous rumours of those of the reformed Religion, & being a gracious man with the Queen mother, for that their humors were but too agreeable and consonant each to other, he perswaded with her, that if shee should countenance the cheife Princes and Lords of the Religion, and suffer them to be neare the Court, and beare a sway in matters of State, they would draw on many followers after them, and peraduenture gaine the yong King and the Princes his brethren to be their friends, and then *Conde* being a man of courage and of that proximitie in bloud would looke to have his place: which if hee might peaceably enjoy, her authoritie would be quickly in the dust, and the Burbons, Memorancies, and Chastillons would rule all: and as it was most likely, shee should bee called to an account for her former governement, during the Kings nonage: and by drawing on the harred of the Catholikes, of the Pope, and of the King of *Spaine*, loose al her credit and reputation.

The Queen mother being iealous inough of her estate before, and nowe encouraged by the Cardinall to rule enerie storne rather then to loose one iota of her authoritie, discounterenanced all that shee might those of the Religion, and to be ridd of the Admirall, whothe for his wisedome, integritie, valour, and vprightnesse of all his actions shewd could not abide, it was deuised that hee should be charged to haue hired *Poltrot* to kill the late Duke of *Guyse*: and to colour the matter withal, there was a counterfeit deposition of *Poltrot* exhibited, and the yong Duke of *Guyse* was animated to demand iustice of the K. for the death of his father. But when this deuise came to the prince of *Condes* care, Lord howe exceedingly was hee offended, protesting, and that openly at the Councell

The young Duke of Guyse set on to accuse the Admirall of the murder of his father.

Councell Table, that hee would spend all that euer hee had, yea, and his owne life too, before the Admirall whom hee knew to be innocent, should be so injuriously handled: which speech of the Princes, with some other considerations, was the cause that this purfule ceased for that time, and a reconciliation was made betweene the Admirall, and those of the *Guye*, at *Moulines*, immediatly before the King was about to go in progresse to *Bayon*.

Albeit the Admirall was no further troubled at this instant, yet it was a meanes to make him hated and detested of all the Catholikes, and a principall cause of sundrie quarrelles betweene the Papists and the Protestants, which in the ende prooued so great, that they drew on a second ciuill warre: for there grewe daily complaints, each charging other with the breach of the Kings Edict, and many accusations were broached on both sides. The Catholikes complained, that the strong Townes and fortresses were not yeelded to the kings obeyfance, that there were many preachers which were not allowed of by the Edict, and that they preached in sundrie places expressly prohibited, that they were disgraced with many approbriations and scandalous speeches, and that there were secret practises for the leuying of Souldiers in Germany and other places, which shoulde bee in a readinesse vpon the first sommance.

The Protestants alleged that they were rigoreously handled, and could not haue justice when they complained: that the insolencie of the garrisons which were placed in sundrie protestant Townes, was intollerable and could not be indured: that there were daily murtherers of thererformed in every corner of the Lande, and nothing so common as robbing, spoylling, rauishing, pilling and poulling the poore Hugonors, and no punishment inflicted vpon the Authours and abettors of such horrible and detestable vilianies.

These and the like complaints beeing often reiterated on both sides, and each faction nourishing their suspitions, vpon every small occasion, their rancour grew greater & greater, and those small sparks which for a while lay couered in ashes, brake out at last into a furious and raging fire. For the Catholikes had no sooner gotten all things in a readines, exacted their cittadels into the protestant Townes, placed their garrisons, sworne their associations and leagues (which were teameed the confraternities of the holy Ghost) and that vnder the colour of viewing the state of the Lande, the king was gone to *Bayon*, there to make a confederacy betweene himselfe and the Spanish king, and the Duke of *Alua*, to roote out all the Hugonots, but that a Million of iniuries and indignities were offered to the poore protestants. There was an Edict made at *Roussillon*, which

*The league
made at Bayon
on among the
Catholikes.*

*The Edict of
Roussillon.*

was teameed a declaration or an exposition of the edict of the pacification: but this was so contrarie to those articles which had beeene agreed vpon before; that al men might see they had fully resolued to breake their promises with the Protestants. Then did there follow immediatly after, most barbarous cruelties and tyrannicall oppresions of all sorts which made any profession of the Gospel, though it were never so little: which when the Protestants (to their unspeakable greefe) behelde, and that after so many iust complaints there was no redresse to bee hoped for by faire meanes, but that their vslage was likely to bee worse and worse, for that the sixe thousand Switzers were still retained in a readinesse,

diness to bee employed against them vpon the sodaine, as they vehemently suspected, they thought it high time to looke about them, and to studie howe they might best preueant so imminent perils.

Whereupon they wrote letters, and sent their secret messengers into al quarters, to aduertise their associats, to vse al the speed that could be made, & to come and attend the Prince of Conde, Rochfacont, and the Admirall Dandclot, and others who were their principall cheefestaines. This could not be so closely kept, but the Queene mother hadde intelligence thereof, who with the King lay at Meaux, a place not farre distant wherethe saide Prince of Conde with his confederates were assembled, and had purposed to hasten to the Court strongly accompanied, to see if they could bring their enemies to any better reason, or more equall and euen conditions. As soone as the Queene mother vnderstood of the dismarch of the Prince, and that hee came directly towardses the King, shee resolued at midnight to dislodge, and to hasten to Paris, leauing the Constable with the bataillon of Switzers and some eight or nine hundred French horse, to stop the course of the Protestants: who seeing them selues ouermatched, and that they could neither by faire meanes nor by soule be admitted to the speech of the King, who was by this time gotten within Paris, they retired towardses Clay, expecting therest of their forces, which daily repaired vnto them out of Picardy, Champagne, Poictou, Guyen, and sundrie other places of the Land: where they stayed not long, but marched towardses Saint Dennis, which was a little village some two leagues distant from Paris.

Nowe beganne there to bee as it were a generall combustion through out France, and the wartes which had ceased for a time were foorthwith open on all sides: there were with the Prince of Conde the Cardinal of Chassillon, the Admirall, Dandclot, Rochfacont, Lenlis, Clermont, Amboise, Saux, Bouchart, Bouchanes, Piquigny, Liffy, Mont, Saint Phale, Esterny, Mont-gommery, the Vidame of Chartres, La Nove, Lauardin, and all their retinewes. These beeing assembled, sent their humble letters to the King, vnfolding theyr manifolde greeves and dolours, beseeching his maestic that they might bee heard, and suffered to enjoy their liberties, and to haue the free exercise of theyr Religion, according to the Edict of Pacification, made before Orléance: but answere beeing returned that the Edict was but prouisionable, and made for the necessarie of the time, and that the King to satisfie them would not fall out with all his neighbour Princes, by tollerating any other besides the Romish Religion, they determined to gather as great forces as they could, and to besiege Paris.

It was not long before they had gotten some 2000. horse, & 4000. footmen, with which power they first tooke Estantps, Dourdan, Orléance, & sundrie other places of good importance, so that stopping the avenues, and blocking the citie of Conde besiege Paris on all sides, they determined either to obtaine a peace with better conditions then before, or els to famish the Parisians, who could not long endure without releefe from other places. The Catholikes were not idle, but daily enterprised vpon the Protestants, fighting and skirmishing with them vpon every aduantage, and vnderstanding that theyr forces were seuered, (Dandclot and Mont-gommery

The Protes-
tants begin
to provide for
themselves.

Conde with
his associats
go towardses
the Court.

The King
flyes to Pas-
ris.

The second
Civil warres.

THE MVTABILITIE

Mountgomery beeing sent away with five hundred horse and eight hundred footmen to surprise Poffy and Ponsbois : La Nene to take Orleance, & baucont : & Mony to conduct the troupes which came out of Guyen and Poitou, to the successors of the Prince : they thought it not conuenient to let slip so fit opportunity, and therefore hauing all their forces in a readinesse, the Constable issued forth of Paris the tenth of November 1367. with three thousand horse, and about seauenteene or eighteene thousand footmen all very well armed and appoynted for the Combate, and were aranged in this manner.

The constable issued forth of Paris the tenth of November 1367.



*The Army
of the constable.*

Is whole army was stretched out in length, more resembling a hedge then anything else, on the left side whereof were placed the battalion of Switzers, flanked with a good number of harquebuziers, all which stood to assure fourteene pieces of great ordinance, which were planted in the mouth of Auberillier, towardes which hee caused his whole army to turne head: on the left side of the Switzers hee appointed a regiment of Horie, and before them another very strong troupe likewise of horsemen, whereof was Captaine the mareschall Memorancy his eldest son. There were also on the same side the regiments of the Dukes of Nemours, Longueville, the Count Retz, Chauomy, Thore, Lansac, and many others: closer to these stood a good troupe of harquebuziers on foote: behind all these stood the bataile of the Parisians brauely shining with armor, pikes, & halbards, hiding almost the side of the army Catholike, wherin was the Constable with his Switzers: on the right side were the regiments of the Count Brissac and Strozz, and somewhat higher those of the mareschal Cossy, Biron, Aucely, Riniere, with some others, behind whom stood the Duke of Aumale, & mareschal Damill, strongly guarded with two troupes of horsemen for the better assurance of the Switzers and French footmen.

*The Army
of the Prince*

The Prince beeing aduertised heereof by his espyals, and knowing that that day would not passe without a fight, marshalled his battalions as followeth.

The Admirall assisted with Cleermont and his two sonnes, Renty, sixe cornets of horse, and foure hundred harquebuziers on foote lead by Vallefeyere, stood right in the face of those that guarded the side of the Constable. Genlis accompanied with Lanardin, Vardes, Bressant, Besancourt, with sixe or sixe cornets fronted the mareschal Cossy, Biron, and the rest before mentioned. The Prince of Conde, the Cardinall Chastillon, Sechaller, the vidames of Chartres, and of Amiens, the Counts of Sanx, La Saze, Eftornay, Conchauane, and Stuard, who commaunded ouer certaine Scots, with foure hundred harquebuziers stood lower in the forme of a bataile, couering Saint Dennis, faced the Constable and them who were before him, so that their forme of bataile resembled a Croysant or new Moone.

These

These generalles had no sooner disposed of their battailons in this warlike manner, but their great ordinance beganne to thunder, and theyr *Enfans Perdus* to attack the skirmish : *Gens* seeing the Catholikes approch towards his quarters, ranged his men close together, and hauing desired them to go resolutely to the charge, and to enter succor one another, aduanced to receive them, who changing their pace into a trot, reencountred them with such furie, that it hasted the death of aboue fiftie persons at that instant. The Admirall who was an olde Fox and beaten to the warres, could quickly espie his aduantage, seeing the state of the battaile, caused his harquebuziers to amende theyr march, and to putte themselves further forwardes, and beeing seconded by the Prince and by the rest of the Armie who were readie to receue their part of the blowes as well as others, gauē in so lustily and so coura- *The red
crosses began
headlong vpon the Parisian bands, whom they exceedingly disordered and af-
frighted.*

The Mareschall *Coff* seeing many of the Catholikes disbanding themselves, and the Confederates wholy pursuing them, crying Victorie, Victory, sent worde to the Mareschall *Darnill*, and the Duke of *Alençon*, to accompanie him to the charge. Now was the Prince hastening to encounter the Constable, vpon whome hee ranne amaine, and with such fiercenesse assayled them whom hee met, that hee quite defaced them who were much dismayed before with the fearefull flight of their companions, whom the Admirall had chased alreadie, and made such a breach in their great battaile, that the Constable being abandoned by aboue a thousand runnawaines, finding himselfe hurt in the face, and pressed to yeeld by *Stuard* a Scot, could not for choller answere otherwise then with blowes of his sword, with the pum- *The Confes-
bles wounded
to death.*
smell whereof hee gave Stuard such a blow on the lawe bone, that hee imore out two or three of his teeth, and loosed many of the rest, which when another Scotte espied, he shotte him into the reines of the backe with his pistoll, for that hee wore but a very thin and light harness, beeing a man aboue foure score yeres of age. Now were the Switzers maruailously astonished, and ready to take their heeleas as well as others, had they not beene reassured by the Duke of *Alençon* and the Mareschall *Darnille*, who promised to liue and die with them, and likewise by the hardy onseete of the Mareschall *Memorant*, who by ouerthrowing certaine of the Princes troupes of Horse, made most of his footmen to flye, and hadde not the night so fast approached, hee had vterly discomfited all the rest : but the darkenesse which prelently ensued, caused each to return, & to draw towards those quarters where they heard the cries of their Generalles, the Protestants to the Prince of *Condé*, who playned of his horse which was sore hurt and wounded, insomuch as hee beganto faile him, and hee was no sooner alighted, but hee fell downe starkē dead besides him. The Catholikes went towardes the Constable, who was wounded to death, and seeing all things standing in so badde tearmes, neuer purued the Protestants, contenting themselves with the honour of the field, and the libertie to burie theyr dead. *The Prince retayred backe againe to Saint Dennis, hauing lost the vidame of Amiens, Piquigny, Saix, Le Suse, of the slaine.*

Saint

Saint Andrew, Garennes with three hundred horsemen, and aboue fiftie Gentlemen of Marke. The Catholikes with their generall, left behinde them dead in the field, the Count De Charnne, Hieron of Turin, and aboue fortie chieftaines and commanders, beside three hundred common souldiers, and a great multitude of maimed and wounded men.

CHAP. X.

The Prince of Conde leaueth Paris. Rochel yeeldeth to the Protestants. The Duke of Aniou madeth the Kings Lieutenant. Cassimer bringeth ayde to the Protestants. The siege of Chartres. Peace proclaimed in France.

*The Prince
raiseth his
siege before
Paris.*



He next day after the comming of *Dandolo* (who was exceeding sorie that hee came not time inough to haue beene at the battaile) the Prince presented himselfe againe with all his whole power before *Paris*, but his enimies kept close within the walles: wherefore after hee had braued them for a good space, and had wasted and spoyled hard to the suburbs, seeing that no man durst appearre to impeach his proceedings, considering that victuals and other necessaries for his army waxed scant; and that the Catholikes houerly reenforced themselves, as also vnderstanding that *Cassimer* was comming with a great army to his ayde, he dislodged then from *S. Dennis* the fifteenth of *Nouember*, and went towards *Lorrain* to receiuie his Almaines. Beeing on his way at *Montargis*, hee received letters from *Truchares*, who was a little before elected Maior of *Rochell*, that if hee would sende some especiall man of account to be Lieutenant in his absence, they would yeeld the towne to his devotion. The Prince was wonderfull glad to heare this good newes, knowing that to bee a place of no small importance, and therefore hee foorthwith dispatched Saint *Hermin* his Cousin with letters to the Mayor and Shriues of therowne, givning them hearty thankes for their great fauour and kindnesse, with a request to remaine constant, and to receiuie his Cousin as his Lieutenant in his absence.

1568

*Rochel yeels
ded to the
Protestants.*

*The troups
of Poitou,
Xaintoigne,
etc.*

*Monsieur
Duke of
Aniou*

This gentleman was very welcome to the *Rochelers*, wher hee arrived the tenth of *Februarie*, 1568. and so *Rochell* being a maruailous strong place, accomodated with a goodly hauen, by which meanes it was growne very rich, remained ever after at the deuotion of the *Confederates*.

By this time were there newe troupes leuied in *Poitou*, *Guyen*, *Xaintoigne*, *An-*
goleme, and *Gafcongne*, vnder the leading of Saint *Cyre*, *Soubize*, *Puissant*, *Pilles*, and
other chieftaines, amounting to the number of eighteene Cornets of horse, and
twentie leauen ensignes of footmen, who marching to ioyne with the Prince,
ooke by the way *Dorat*, *Lasignas*, and *Pont Sur Yon*, where they ioyned with
the vaughtgard, ledde by the Admirall *Chastillon*: from thence passing by *Sens*,
they tooke *Bray*, *Nogent*, *Montereau*, and *Espernay*. Thus did the Protestants stil
aduance their affaires, the Catholikes being not able to impeach or hinder them,
norwithstanding all their practises and deuises.

Now was *Monsieur* the Duke of *Aniou*, brother to the King by reason of the death

death of the Constable, proclaimed Lieutenant generall ouer all his brothers Ariou made territories and Dominions : who beeing assissted by the Prince de Nemours, the Kings Longaville, the Mareeschall Coffy, Tanannes, Martignes, Carnavalet, Loffes, and sun- Lieutenant general. drie other great Captaines, was commaunded to bridle the Protestants as general. much as might be. The Duke of Anvaile was sent into Lorraine, to ioyne with The Marques of Baden, and the Duke of Alua send the Marques of Baden, who had rayled a power of some three thousand horse, for the seruice of the King : and the Duke of Alua sent the Count of Arenberg, with a thousand and two hundred horse, and two thousand footmen Spaniards, and Burgonians, who shoulde ioyne with Monsieur against the Prince of Conde, forces to and therest of the Confederates. The yong Lonsac was sent to the Count Palatinate, to hinder the leue of the Reisters, made by his sonne Casimer, and nowe ready to march for the succour of the Protestants. Thus was there great preparation made on all sides to continue the warres, and to consume France with the flame of ciuill broyles.

The Prince being aduertised of all this, hasted to meeet with his Reisters, and with much adoo being followed in the taile by the Catholikes, at length arrived at Saint Michael: where hee passed the River of Meaux, and so entered into Lorraine, still proceeding forwardes vntill hee came as farre as Mons, where hee met with Casimer, and his Almaines, who accompanied with the two young Countes of Barbe, the Count Holo, the Mareeschall of the Palatinate, Scemberg, and manie others of great reckoning and account, had long expected the comming of the Confederates. After some stay made for the refreshing of their wearied troupes, they determined to returne towards the pleasant and fertile fieldes of the Flower de Lys, thereto assay if they could bring their enemies to any honest, and reasonable conditions.

Monsieur had speedie intelligence of the retурne of both Armies, wherefore hee sent great numbers, both of horsemen, and footemen, to stoppe all the passages, and amongst others, commaunded the Duke of Nevers with his Italian bandes to defende the Riuers of Merne, Seyne, Ton, and sundrie other places. And that if hee could not hinder theyr course, yet he should annoy them by all possible meanes, to the ende that beeing wearied and wasted so much as might bee, his excellencie might fight with them afterwards in gresse, with The Duke of Nevers sent with the passage of the Araraine into France.

The Protestants minding not to forslowe theyr busynesse, dislodged from Chalons, and marched towards the head of the Riuier of Mense, and so leauing Comercyon on their right hande, passed ouer at Marne, and went towardes Chaffillon, where they were assayled by certaine troupes of Italians, and French, who set vpon the taile of the army, to cause them to hasten their pace. But Scemberg, being sent with part of his owne Regiment, assissted by some fewe of the French, gaue them such a furious charge, that hee wholly defeated them, and brought theyr colours to the Prince. The armie was forthwith aduaunced, and marching through Hurepoise, by Blenay, and Montargis, arryued at last in Beauje, and encamped before Chartres, which they determined to besiege, for that it was verie rich, and well able to relieue the armie with manie necessaries.

The comming of this great power encouraged diuerse, who had kept them

felues close, to put forth theyr heads, and to attempt manie things in sauour of the Confederates. Those of Lancastre, Preunce, and Gasconye, were presently vp in armes vnder their leaders, Siperes, Montbrun, Mommans, Senas, Bessing set, Rapin, Montacute, and sundrie other Chieftaines, and suddenly surprised Nimes, Montpellier, Saint Marcell, Saint Esprit, Saint Jean, Bone: all which they fortified for their greater profitte and securtie. The Catholikes were not idle, but sought to catch whatioeuer they coulde come by, which might any way tend to their aduaantage. Montaret gouvernour of the Countrey of Barbounie, with Terride, La Valette, and Monsales, surprised certaine troupes of the Protestants, whom they quickly defeated and put to flight. A scon was taken by the Duke of Nevers. Moninc likewise tooke certaine Iles in Xantaigne, and prepared all necessaries to besiege Rochele, one of the principall retreates of the Protestants. The Count Martineng, Rucklen, and sundrie others, besieged Orleance. Thus were they in euery corner of Fraunce vp in Armes, and no man knewe where to bee safest from the violence of the souldiours, and men of Armes.

Chartres *by* *sieged.* Now were all things in a readinesse for the siege of Chartres, so that hauing rayled theyr mounts, and planted theyr artillarie, they began to beate the Cittie, in verie terrible and furious maner: and hauing ouerthrowne their Towers, battered their houses, and made a sufficient breach, they were readie to giue an assault, and to assay the getting of the Towne by maine force.

The King offers a peace, which is accepted by the Prince. Ligneres one of the Knights of the order, was Captaine of the Towne, who endeououred by all meanes to keepe the same in despite of the Confederates, and with great celeritie repayred in the night, whatioeuer had beeene broken, and throwne downe in the day: and so wisely and politiquely presented all the stratagems of his enemies, that it was not possible for the Prince to effect his intended purpose. But the King vnderstanding that they could not long holde out, and being not able to remooue the siege, thought it best to offer the Prince a peace: whiche after manie meetings was at length concluded. The principall effect whereof was, that euery man should quietly enjoy his Religion, and from thenceforth never bee troubled for their consciences. This being agreed vpon, (though contrarie to the liking of manie of the Princes best friends, and principall Capitaines, who still cryed out, that the King would breake his paomise, as soone as he espied his aduaantage) and proclaimed in the Campe before Chartres, the Armie brake vp, and euerie one was licenced to depart home into his owne Countrey.

CHAP. XI.

The third civil warres. The battell of Bassac where the Prince of Conde is slaine. The Prince of Navarre chosen Generall of the Protestants. The death of Dandolo. The death of the Duke of Deux-ponts. A great victorie of the Protestants. Monsieur dissolueth his armie. The siege of Poictiers.



Now was France once againe reduced to a quiet estate, and who would not haue thought, but that after so many bastonados, The third
civil warres. every one would haue bin glad to haue nourished the same by all possible meanes, and to haue learned by their former miseries to beware, how they entred into new troubles. But such were the wicked counsels of some turbulent spirits, that they could not endure any quietnes, but gaue daily occasions to fill the whole land full of new broyles and vprores. The two late reconciled factions were continually very iealous each of others proceedings, one blamed the other for not accomplishing such conditions as were agreed vpon, and so solemnly sworne on both sides. The Catholiks alledged that the Protestants had not put all their strong townes into the kings hands, according to the tenure of the Articles of the peace lately agreed vpon: that *Rochelle* did fortifie it selfe, and would not receyue the Catholikes into their former offices and dignities: that they rigged shippes, and made themselues strong at sea, and that without the kings knowledge: that *Coquenille* leuied many soldiers for the ayd of the prince of *Orange*, contrarie to the pacification made before *Chartres*. All which things could not be excepted without the knowledge of the confederats: & that which was most strange of al, they practised to leuy soldiers in *Germany*, & other places.

The Protestants complained, that they could not be permitted freely to vse The con-
plaints of the
Protestants. their consciences, according as it was conditioned. That the Catholikes did still retain the Switzers, and the Italian bands, and placed sundry strong garrisons in those townes which were of the Religion, and that such which had liued in exile, could not returne to their houses without imminent peril of their liues. Alledging withall, the horrible murthers, robberies, and other execrable facts, committed vpon the persons, and goods of those of the reformed Churches. These with some others were the reasons which animated both parts to stirre coales, and to begin the warres afresh.

The Catholikes knowing *Rochelle* to be a verie strong place, sought by al cunning deuises to make them selues maisters thereof, and with fayre promises intermingled with threats, laboured to perswade them to receyue a garrison of the Catholikes, but they would in no case agree thereto, but still droue them off with new delayes. The prince
of Condé
danger to be
taken by
Tannas. *Tannas* was commaunded to surprise the Prince of *Conde*, who was then in *Noyers*. But hee beeing aduertised thereof, departed in great haste, with the Princesse his wife, the Admirall, and some hundred horse: and passing ouer the *Loyer*, went into *Poitou*, where increasing his forces, by the comming of *Verac*, *Soubize*, *Annilier*, *Saint Cyre*, and *Prusiant*, at last arrived at *Rochelle*, in despite of all his enemies, whither not long

*Conde comes
merit Ros
che, whether
the Queen
of Navarre
also reparesh*

after came the Queene of Nauar, with the yong Prince of Barne her son. Where there was forthwith a Councell helde for the managing of their fature actions. The rest of the Protestant Capitaines, as *Dandclot, Mountgomery, La Noye, and others*, being aduertised of all these sturres, gathered what forces they could, and marched towards *Rochell*, with great spedee, taking by the way, *Parthenay, Niort, and Maile*, which proued afterwarde very aduanagious for the Confederates. *Anzolesme, Pons, S. John d'Angely, and Tallebourg*, were likewise surprised by those of the reformed Religion, so that now many good townes were againe at their deuotion and commaundement.

*Monsieur
made hentes
wait for the
King his
brother.*

The King being aduertised of all these designements, declared Monsieur the Duke of *Aniou* his brother, his Lieutenant generall: who dispatched forthwith Letters and Messengers into all parts, to assemble *Bannes and Arerbannes*, and to command all gentlemen, and others to be in a readinesse at the time appointed, at *Eftamps*, where he had proclaimed the *Rendevous*, there to attend the further pleasure of his excellencie. The protestants assembled souldiours on all sides, especially in *Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny*, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Acer, Montbrun, and Saint Romain*, who had gathered some sixtene or seuentene thousand footmen, and seuen hundred horse, and were marching toward the Prince, who expected their comming at *Chalons*. This new supply did maruellously strengthen the confederates, and encouraged them to proceed on in their enterprise, and to seeke their enemies, who now were growne to an head, and readie to march vnder their leaders and conductors. After many attempts on eyther side, and that both the Armies had endamaged each other, by the taking of sundry townes, and afflicting the poore Country, with a thousand miseries, both Generals resolued to trie their fortunes by an entire battaile, as soone as occasion was offered. With this resolution *Hearie Duke of Aniou*, hauing intelligence, that the Lorde *Pilles* was comming towarde the Prince of *Conde*, with a newe supplie of souldiours, led his armie through *Poictou, Limosin, and the Countrey of Angoumois*, and discended alongst the Riuere of *Charente*, as though hee woulde take *Chasteauneuf*, there to passe ouer the water, and to barre *Pilles* from ioyning with the Prince. VVhich when the Confederates understande, they passed *Charente* at *Cognac*, with purpose to preuent the Armie of the Catholiques: who hauing gayned *Chasteauneuf*, repayed the Bridge, which was in the possession of the Protestants, and made an other with Boats.

1569

*The battaile
of Baffac.*

The Admirall being appointed to impeach the making of these new bridges, considering he was not able to effect that which he desired, retired vnto *Baffac*, ordaining *Soubize, Puniant, and other troupes of Poictou*, to fauour his retreate. The Prince (all things being well considered) was not willing to resolute of a battaile, and therefore willed the Admirall to dislodge with the ausun-garde, and to bee with him at *Farnac* the next morning by the breake of the day. Which in no wise could be performed by all: for the companies ledde by *Puniant*, could not march so speedily, the Catholikes being at their taile, and so strongly pressed them, that they could not bee disagaged, but with the hazard, and perill of all the Protestants. For the footemen of his excellencie hauing passed a Riuere, doubled their pace to gaine a little hill, which was a place

a place of some aduaantage: from which they discouering how small a compa-
nie the Admirall had, aduaunced still forward, knowing that he could not re-
tire, without the intire losse of all his troupes. By this time, *Pruiant* was so farre
engaged, that had not *La None*, and *La Loue*, who made the retreate of the
Auautgarde with fortie Harquebuziers, speedilie come to his succours, hee
had remayned at the mercie of his enemies. But when as they had with all theyr
deuoir succored them in their need, they were forthwith compelled to defend
themselues vpon the bay of a pond, where they were so lustily charged by *Martigues*, *Malicorne*, and others to the number of fiftie or sixe hundred horse, that *La
None*, and *La Loue* were taken prisoners, and all their bands intirely broken, and
defeated. *Pruiant* having charged, and finding himselfe too weake, retired to the
rest of the footmen. During these hot skirmishes, sundry of the Catholikes were
taken prisoners, and so farre aduaanced forwards, wherof some two hundred came hard to the village, whō
when the Admirall and *Dandeler* discouered, beeing ignorant of the overthrow,
afrelayde, for that the village hindered theyr sight, they resoluteley charged:
and *Dandeler* being formost with his corner, gaue in so furiously, that he made
them all to run amaine, leauing behind them *Monsales*, and thirteen others dead
vpon the place. *Dandeler* pursued them hard to the village, from whence he was
no sooner returned, but those Catholikes being backed with 1200 harquebuziers,
reenred more strongly accompanied then before. Whiles things passed on
after this maner, al the rest of the troupes of the Catholikes began to snew them-
selves, every regiment taking his place for the last encounter.

The Prince of *Conde* beeing aduertised of all this, and of the daunger that
the Admirall with all the Auautgard was in, if they were not speedily suc-
coured, aduaunced himselfe with those few horsemen of his bataile, which he
tumultuously assembled in that vprore, the rest beeing dispersed into severall
quarters here and there, hasted to the rescue with all the speede that might bee.
Each Generall began nowe to seeke his aduaantage, and to prepare himselfe to
the fight. The Admirall espying that *Monsany* came fast on vpon the left hand,
which was the meanest to enclose the Protestants betwene the riuers, and the
armie of the Catholikes; commaunded *La Touer* to bring the companies of the
Auautgard further forwards: which he did, and bare himselfe so, that his horse
being ouerthrowne, he was taken, and beeing knowne to be the man that had
slaine capteine *Carry* at *Paris*, was killed forthwith, besides many others, who
had no better fortune.

The army Catholike still stretched it selfe forth vpon the left hande, towards
the troupes of *Soubize*, *Languillier*, *Pruiant*, *Cressomere*, and the rest of the
Chieftaines of *Poitoun*: who thinking it not conuenient to expect anie oc-
casyon for a better charge, seeing the enemy reenforce himselfe more and
more, assayled the formost Troupes with such furie, that they made them
recule: but by reason of newe supplyes which were sent continuallie, *Soubize*, and
Languillier were taken prisoners, *Mesauchere*, *Brandamere*, and ma-
ny other others were then slaine. In the meane time his excellencie desirous to
breakē them on all sides, brought a great part of his armie an other way,
purposing to enclose them, who kept the bay of the pond, and to assayle
them on the backe. But this pretence being spied, the confederates, who had
maintained

Dandeler ma-
keb the Cat-
holiques to
runn.

La Touer
slaine.

maintained the aduantage of the ground a good while, thought it best to retyre into a place of greater safetie. Whiles the fight was thus hotely continued on either side, the Prince of *Comte* with three or four hundred horse, gaue a hote charge vpon the Catholiques: and being chafed to see his men in rout, and the whole army to bear it less no better, flang in with such fury, that he bare to the ground, or made to run all that were before him, vntill such time as his horse being wounded, hee was overthrowne, and not able any longer to doo anything for the blowes hee had receyued: and because hee was not succoured with a fresh horse in tyme, seeing his enemies to presse vpon him, hee yecched vnto *Argence*, and Saint Jean, who promised to saue his life: but *Monsieur* (as somme say) passing by at that instant, shothim into the head with a spittolt, whereof he died forthwith.

*The prince
of Comte
slaine.*

*Acte du 3. d.
Octobre.*

Vol. 1. fol. 10.

Vol. 1. fol. 11.

Vol. 1. fol. 12.

Vol. 1. fol. 13.

Vol. 1. fol. 14.

Vol. 1. fol. 15.

Vol. 1. fol. 16.

Vol. 1. fol. 17.

Vol. 1. fol. 18.

Vol. 1. fol. 19.

Vol. 1. fol. 20.

Vol. 1. fol. 21.

Vol. 1. fol. 22.

Vol. 1. fol. 23.

Vol. 1. fol. 24.

Vol. 1. fol. 25.

Vol. 1. fol. 26.

Vol. 1. fol. 27.

Vol. 1. fol. 28.

Vol. 1. fol. 29.

Vol. 1. fol. 30.

Vol. 1. fol. 31.

Vol. 1. fol. 32.

Vol. 1. fol. 33.

Vol. 1. fol. 34.

Vol. 1. fol. 35.

Vol. 1. fol. 36.

Vol. 1. fol. 37.

Vol. 1. fol. 38.

Vol. 1. fol. 39.

Vol. 1. fol. 40.

Vol. 1. fol. 41.

Vol. 1. fol. 42.

Vol. 1. fol. 43.

Vol. 1. fol. 44.

Vol. 1. fol. 45.

Vol. 1. fol. 46.

Vol. 1. fol. 47.

Vol. 1. fol. 48.

Vol. 1. fol. 49.

Vol. 1. fol. 50.

*The number
of those who
were slaine at
the battaile of
Bassac.*

Onely was the disorder exceeding great among the Protestants, who having lost their Generall, began to flee as fast as they could, and to get out of the danger of their pursyng enimies. The Admirall and *Dandolo*, seeing the fight irreparabile, and the affray so maruellous, retired with a few of the nobilitie vnto *S. Jeann d'Angely*, and from thence to *Xanthes*, to the young Princes of *Navarre*, and *Condé*. There dyed in this tourney of Bassac, besides the Prince, *La Tonet*, yong *Ghasteliere*, *Pertant*, *Chandeler*, *Mesachere*, *Brandanier*, *Tabaricre*, *Barette*, *Le Astieray*, and aboue fiftie other Gentlemen. *Stnard* a Scot was slaine with a dagge, and divers other died shortly after of their wounds. *Pauiant*, *Soubise*, *Languillier*, *Corbeson* brother to *Montgomery*, *La Rose*, *La Lane*, and *Guerchy* the ensigne bearer of the Admirall were taken prisoners. But shortly after *Soulize*, foynd the meanes, to deceiue his keepers, *La Rose*, was exchanged for *Sergeant* Lieutenant to the duke of *Guise*. *Corbeson* and *Guerchy* were set at libertie, vpon their faithfull promises. The whole number of the Protestants that were slaine in this battaile were almost four hundred, and some two hundred Catholiques, and among them were *Monsides*, the Barons *Imvaid*, and *Pinnay*, the Count de *la Mirande*, *de Morette*, *Mo canure*, *Limieres*, and certaine others of marke. Monsieur left the King worde forthwith of the victorie. Who presently aduertised the Pope thereof, sending him some of the enlignes, who caused them to be set vp in Saint Peter's Church, from whence he went in procession with all his Cardinals to the temple of the holy Ghost, to giue thanks for so joyfull successe: and so did likewise the Venerians, and duke of *Ales*: thinking that all the Protestants in *France* had beene wasted and consumed.

*The prince
of Navarre
chosen gene-
rall of the
prot. forces
after the
death of
Condé.*

But the Admirall with the principall of the confederates, gaue them quickly to understand, that the matter was likely to be farre otherwise then they imagined. For they gathering togither their dispersed forces, fortified *Cornac*, *Angolesme*, *Pos*, *Saint Gean d' Angely*, and other places, wherein they planted strong garrisons to amuse the armie of the Catholiques, vntill the coming of the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, who was alreadie marching with a great power, to the relieve of the confederates. And hauing chosen the young Prince of *Navarre* for their Generall (who promised to spende his life in defensio[n] of theyrcatife, and never to abandon them, vntill an assured peace were established) reviewing their troupes, which amounted well neare to fortie thousand horse, besids their footmen, prouided all necessaries to begin the wars afresh

as fresh, and if it might bee to repair their former losses. Dandolo was sent into Poitou, to view the strength of their forces in those quarters, and to gather as much money as possibly hee could, for the payment of the Souldiers, where afer he had very wisely and politikely aduanced his busines, and gotten good store of gold and siluer for the maintenance of the warres, in his retурne fell into a burning feauer, wherof hee died shortly after at Amiens, to the vnspeakable greefe of the Admirall, and all those of the reformed Churches. Hee was very valiant, politicke, and passing skilfull in all warlike affaires: prouident to foresee all dangers, courageous and hardy in all his enterprises, liberall, courteous and affable, and therfore wonderfully well beloued of his souldiers, who thought themselves able to encounter with any whaile ouer, so long as they had him for cheefetaine and commander: and therfore they bewailed the losse of him as of their father. *I be praise of Dandolo,*

Dandolo dieth of a burning feauer.

The Duke of Deux Ponts, who was hasting to the aide of the Protestants, had in his armie leauen thousand and fiftie hundred Reisters, and sixe thousande Lansquenetes, with whom were joyned the Prince of Orange, the two Counts Ludovicus and Henry his brethten, with a small band of their followers: besides Marueilliers the marquess of Rensel, Fequieres, Clermont, Moy, and Bisternay, with certaine culuerings, sixe field peeces, and a good number of Musqueters: with those companies he got forward as fast as hee might, still gayning ground; and approaching the territories of France, notwithstanding al the hindraances and lets which were given by the Duke of Almaine, who with a great power was appointed to stoppe the passages, and to barre this Almaine Duke out of the fertile countrey of the Flower de Luce: but that could not be, for still hee passed foorth, and at last rested himselfe before La Charite, a towne of great importance, and situated (as it were) in the heart and bowels of France. The Towne was verie straightly besieged, and planting his battery, he beat the wals in such furiotis maner, that thole within beeinge not abele to holde out, and dispairing of any succours intime, yeilded vpon composition, to haue their lynes saued, and so was it sacked and spoyled by the Lansquenetes. The taking of the towne was no small aduantage to the confederates, as also the losse thereof did much hinder *La Charity* *sacked,* the fortunate course of the victorios Catholikes, who now began to consult how to impeach the two armies, that they should not meeete and vnite themselves together: but doo what they could the Duke still aduanced forwardes, passed through Lymosin so farre as Cars, where falling sicke hee dyed of a quartaine Feuer, to the exceeding greefe of all his friendes and followers.

The Princes beeinge aduertised of the comming of the Duke, and the taking of La Charity, halfted to meete them, leaing La Noye Captaine in cheefe ouer the Duke of Poitou, Rochell, and other places vnder their obedience: and ioyning with the Germaines at length neere vnto Cars, were not a little gladde in their hearts, al-^{tbe Protes} ^{Denx ponts.} ^{Spanis had in} ^{their army} ^{some tenne or} ^{twelve thou-} ^{sandbergs} ^{and twenty} ^{thousand foot} ^{force men.}

When all the confederates were ioyned together, they first sent a supplicati-^{on} to the King, desiring a peace: but when they could not bee heard, nor those miserable warres which had so long tormented poore France, could haue any ende by faire meanes, they proceeded on, and purposed to assay if by fine force men.

force, they could compell their enemies to any honest and reasonable conditions: the better to effect this, they determined to get as many strong townes as they could into their handes, aswell in the Countrey of Lymosyn as other where. But the Army of his excellencie was nowe so strongly reenforced with the troupes of the Duke of Aumale, as also with one thousand and two hundred horse, and foure hundred footmen, all Italians, and vnder the conduct of Saint Fior, nephew to the Pope called Pius Quintus, that they did continually coast them, & maintained sundrie braue skirmishes with the confederates; barring them from executing many of their enterprises, and at length each Army meeting together neere vnto Rochabeuille, had almost tryed their quarrell by an entire battaile: for Monsieur hauing encamped vpon a goodly plaine, and entrenched his arme round about in most defencible maner, suring at one corner, placed there a strong Corps du gard (composed of the two Regiments, sometimes commaunded by the valiant Counte Brissac, and nowe ledde by the two Captains La Barthe and Gouas, who still lamented the death of their generous collonell) to defende that quarter from all sodaine invasions of the Protestants. This Gard was quickly espied, and the Admirall aduertised thereof, who was very desirous to remoue them further off: but for that hee did not well know their strength, he thought it good to deale warily, and to go with al his whole forces to this exploit, beeing a matter of so great importance, purposing to enterpise further if occasion serued. Whereupon all the troupes were forthwith arranged and put in battaile array: the Admirall assissted by Beauvois, La Nocle, Briquemant, Soubize, La Noue, Taligny, and others, led the vanguard followed by their seueral Cornets, and a great Hot of Reifters, conducted by Count Ludonie, brother to the Prince of Orange, who were flanked with the Regiments of Beaudigne and Piles, and on the left hand with Rovnray & Ponille: a strong battaillon of Lansquenetes backed the auanigard, which carried in the front eight field peeces. The battaile marched after, led by the Prince and Rocfaucant, with the aide of the Prince of Orange, Count Henry his brother, and the Count Mansfeild, flanked likewise with another battaillon of Lansquenetes, which guarded the rest of the field peeces.

Thus went the Protestants very well appointed to assaile the two Regiments, who beeing aduertised by their Vedetes or espials of their approch, prepared themselves against the invasion of their enemies. It was not long before the Enfans perdns of either side beganne the game, and were followed very lustily by the rest of their associats.

A great victory of the Protestants.

Though the Catholikes were but a few in respect of the Protestants, yet remembryng their former honour (for they were esteemed the brauest and valiantest bandes of all the whole Army) and beeing animated by the Collonell Strozzi, did lustily maintaine the fight, and would not giue an inch of ground, thinking to be succoured in time by his excellencie. There was a long and terrible fight, and many were slaine on both sides: but this Corps du gard being ouercharged with the multitude of Confederates, was (in the ende) wholy overthrowne and put to flight. Collonell Strozzi was taken prisoner, hauing lost his Lieutenant La Loup, with the choylest men of the Regiment, and 50. men of Marke at the least, and some foure hundred common Souldiers. Monsieur not minding

Strozzi taken prisoner.

minding to hazard his fortune at that time, suffered the Protestants peaceably to enjoy their victorie, and being counselled to breake vp his Armie, and to distribute them in the garrisons vntill the 15. of August following, euerie one retired to their appointed places, leauing the confederates to range vp and down ^{Monsieur} ^{dissoluebis} at their pleasures, who forthwith got *Tours*, *S. Sulpice*, *Confolans*, *S. Genis*, ^{47 May.} *Chatelet* and *Lusignan*, and many other places, so that now fortune began to smile vpon them more then at any time before, and maruailously to fauor their proceedings: and seeing themselues maisters of the field, and that there was no man to make head against them, they resolued to besiege the strong Towne of *Poitiers*. With this determination they marched forwards, and encamped before the cheefe Citie in *Poitou*, seeking to adde that likewise vnto the rest of their conquests. <sup>The Protes
tants besiege
Poitiers.</sup>

His excellency beeing aduertised heereof, sent foorthwith the new Duke of *Guyse*, commanding him to put himself within the Towne, and in any wise to *The Duke* keepe it from the Protestants, who accompanied with the marquess *De Main* of *Guyse* and his brother, *Ruffec*, *Onoux*, and sundrie others his followers, entred *Poitiers*, ^{to defend Poitiers.} where after hee had viewed the walles, and considered of all necessaries requisite to endure a siege, hee fortified the Towne with the aduise of the Counte *Lude*, the Gouvernour of the Countrey, as strongly as could bee devised, the better to maintaine it against the enemie, who not long after approaching, first gained the suburbs, and sundrie other places of aduantage, notwithstanding all the impeachments giuen by the *Guyse* and other Catholikes. Then raised they their forts, cast vp their mounts, entrenched themselves, mounted their Ordenance, and beat the Walles, Towers, and Bulwarks, in all terrible and furious manner that might bee. Those within stood valiantly to their defence, and by often sallying foorth and skirmishing, endamaged the assaylants exceedingly, who by reason they were men of courage and resolution, they maintained their owne for a long while. But in continuance of time, after the losse of manie of their forwardest Souldiers, they beganne to keepe in more close, and were content to holde whatsoeuer was within the Walles, and for that viuctuals beganne to waxe scant, by reasoun all the passages & waies were so stopped, that nothing could enter for the releefe of the besieged, they thrust out many of their vnnecessarie people, and spent their viuctuals among the rest as sparingly as might be: and yet for all that they were brought to that extremite, that they were forced to eate their horses, asses, and dogges, and to ^{Great penury} ^{rise of v. duc} fill theyr hungrie mawes with many course meates, yea, such was their miserie, that they thought it impossible to holde it for any long time, and therefore ^{als in Possit} were readie to yeelde vp the Towne, hadde they not beene dissuaded by the ⁴⁷ Duke of *Guyse*, the Count *De Lude*, and some fewe others, who vowed to spend their goods, liues, and whatsoeuer they hadde, rather then by yeelding vnto their enemies, to blemish their honour and reputation: but all this serued to little purpose, had not *Bidolier* the yongest brother of the Count *De Lude*, by a *The ingenio* ^{ous devise of v. duc} wittie and ingenious devise, stopping the Channell of the Riber, caused it to ^{disgorge} it selfe ouer all the low meddowes which lay on the side of the Citrie, *Bidolier*, by which meanes the confederates were viterly disappointed of their hope, and that at such time as they thought all had beene theirs.

Now

Now began the affaires of the Protestants to go backwards, and every day to bee crossed more and more: for shortly after their victuals failed them, and great multitudes of their armies fell sick, and no small number were greeuously

The Admirall wounded and hurt: the Admirall himselfe fell into a desperate disease, and all men thought he should never haue recovered. *Rochefaucon, Acier, Briquemant, Beauvoise, La Nocle*, and others of speciall account were so sickly and weake,

that they were forced to remoue from the Army, so that not one of them (except the Admirall and *Acier*) were able to bee at the bataile of Montcounter.

*The Protes-
tants raise
their siege
before Pois-
tier.*

All these miseries being considered, as also the comming of *Monsieur* to raise the siege, the Admirall with the aduise of all the principall men in the Army, resolved to discampe, and to leaue *Poictiers*, to the great comfort and reioycing of all the Catholiks: and to watch the Army led by his excellency, who was now marching towards *Chateleurand*, to the ende to gaine it from the Protestants. His whole power consisted of 10000. footmen, 3000. Reisters, one thousand Italians, and two thousand French horse: with these forces hee besieged *Chateleurand*, which hee so beat with his great Artillery, that the breach being found reasonable, every man cried to the assault. The Italians who had the honour to aduance first, went very brauely forwardes, and made countenance as though they would haue entred at that instant: but the valiant and noble *La Lane*, one of the Marechalles of the Campe, and an especial man among the confederates, hauing the keeping of the Townes, gaue him such a welcome, that after the slaughter of many of their forwardest leaders (as *Fabian de Mont*, *Ottanian de Montalto*, *Malatesta a Collonell*, and abouer two hundred others) they retired in haste to free themselves out of such perril. *Monsieur* being dismayed with this losse, and vnderstanding that the Admirall with his whole armie was at hande, thought best to remoue his siege, and to depart to a place of more securitie, and there to stay vntill he had assembled the rest of his troupes. The protestants beeing quickly enformed heereof, pursued him at the heeles, and often skirmished with him by the way, vntill they came to a conuenient place, and fit for an entire fight, where they presented the bataile: but his excellency refused, referring himselfe for a more fortunate time.

*Monsieur
besieges
Chateleurand*

*Monsieur
raiseth his
siege.*

C H A P. XII.

The Bataile of Montcounter.

*The bataile
of Mont-
counter.*



After some small reposing of his wearied and tired bandes, and that his Army was reenforced by the comming of fresh Soldiers, so that hee thought himselfe able to match the Confederates, hee againe returned towards them, purposing to trie it out by some bloody fight, as soone as any oportunitie was offered. The yong Princes, the Admirall, and the rest of the cheefest Protestants, were quickly aduertised of his intent, who for that the aduancement of their affaires consisted principally in celerity and expedition, as also in assailing their enemies, whereby they did the better maintaine

maintaine their honour and reputation, and likewise the importunate desires of the *Almaines*, who were continually crying vpon the Admirall that they might light, determined to accept the iourney, alsooneas it was offered in any fit and conuenient place.

They had not marched long, but they came to the plaines of *Saint Clerc*, not farre from *Montcounter*, which his excellencie vnderstanding, caused his troupes to amende their pace, purposing to stop their course, and to compell them to a generall combate, which was a thing that hee much desired.

The Admirall who commanded all, by reason the Princes were but yong, finding the plaine (asore laid) to be a conuenient place to darrain the fight, ar-^{The order of} ranged his battailes in the most conuenient ground hee could choose, and these battailes expected the comming of his enemies : and hauing sent *Mouy* and *Saint Anban* tarts, wch certaine Cornets to discouer the Catholikes, he in the meane time lodged his Ordinance vpon certaine little hillies, and made the battaile which was led by *Ludowick Count of Nassau* to aduance more on the right hande, to whome were deliuered three Cannons and one Culuering. The aduanntgard was on the left hand, led by the Admirall himselfe, assisted by *Puygreffyer*, *La Nonce*, *Tessony*, and certaine others, backed with the Count *Mansfeld*, and a great battaillon of Reisters, besides the Lansqueners conducted by *Cranuilliers*. All which hauing killed the ground after their accustomed maner, swore to succour each other, and to die in the place rather then to giue one iot of ground to their enemies. These were likewise flanked on both sides with the Regiments of the French harquebuziers, led by *Pilles*, *Rouurray*, *Briguemant* the yonger, *Ambres*, and *Chellar*: the whole army consisted of 6000. horse, 8000. harquebuziers, 4000. Lansqueners, six Cannons, two culuerings, and three musquets.

His excellency with the direction of his best aduisants, deuided his whole forces into a vantgard and a battaile: the aduantgard was composed of Frenchmen, Almaines, and Italians, ledde by the Prince *Danphin*, the Duke of *Guyse*, *Martomes*, *Chauigny*, *La Valete*, the Count *Vestenberg*, the *Reingraue Baffomper*, *Saint Fior*, *Paul Sforza*, *Disci*, *Santelle*, with well neere three thousand horse: The grosse battaillon of Switzers which consisted of four thousand, was led by *Collonell Clere*, flanked with fve Regiments of harquebuziers, Frenchmen and Italians, ynder the conduct of *La Barbe*, *Sarlbois*, *Oneux*, and sundry others: ouer all these commanded the Duke of *Montpensier*. The battaile was composed of the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Longauille*, the Marechal *Coffy*, *Fauernes*, the Marquesse of *Villiers*, &c. with three thousand horse, and another Count *Mansfeld* cousin to the Protestant, and fve Cornets of a thousand or a thousand and two hundred horse. The marquesse of *Baden* had wel neere a thousand horse vnder his leading: these were flanked with the Spaniards & Burgonians, which the Catholike K. had sent to the aide of his brother. All these had they *Enfans Perdus* in their front, who carried death engrauen in their foreheads, as well for themselves, as for whomsoever they first attached. All this Armie which consisted of aboue nine thousand horse, 17. or 18. thousand footmen, and 15. peeces of great Ordenance, was commaunded by his excellencie, and beeing ready arranged, awaited when the signe shoulde bee giuen, ^{Duke Montpensier or charched by the Protestants} but first they fought a farre off with theyr great shotte, which for that it was

*Many with
his bands
defeated.*

was skilfully directed by the Cannoneres, made a sore slaughter on both sides. This thundering and terrible noyse was no sooner ceased, and the Artillery retired, but the Trumpets sounded *De-dans, dedans*, and the Duke *Montpensier*, went resolutely to the Charge, and gaue in so hotly vpon *Mony* and his Regiment, that hee being abandoned by his two Corners of Reisters, who were appointed to second him, was forced to get him as fast as he could out of the danger, and to sauе the greatest part of his troupes among the footmen: who being mightily dismayed with so pittious an accident, lost their hearts, and disbanding themselues, ranne all away for the best game. Now beganne the Duke of *Guyse* with his associats to come lustily forwardes, and in their appointed quarter to charge their enemies: who received them with equall courage, so that there grew a very warme fight on both sides. The harquebuziers whome the Admirall had interlaced among his French Launces, played the men, and set of the Catholikes at their pleasure, knowing they were well assured by their horsemen, who serued to guard them at their neede.

The Admirall, who by reason of his great experiance in the warres, both at home and abroade, and the diligent marking of so diuers events as had run before his eyes, iudging of the sequell by this unfortunate beginning, counselfled the yong Princes to retire as couertly & with as smal a traine as they could: but many whose eyes were prying about, and glad to take any occasion to bee gone, eyping the retreat & coueting to enfranchise themselves from so great perill as was present before their faces, would needes accompanie them whether they would or not, so that they had quickly more attendants then eyther they expected or desired.

*The admiral
hurt, and in
danger to bee
taken.*

By this time was the rest of the aduauntgard which was led by the Admirall and *Acer*, hotly charged by the Reisters Catholikes, who so furiously encountring them, that many ended their daies at that instant. The Admirall himselfe was in such danger, that hee was hurt in the face, through the default of such as should haue couered him, and was so farre intermedled among the Catholikes, that had not Count *Mansfeld* with foure or fve cornets of Reisters disgaged him, he had vndoubtedly fallen into their hands who loued him but a little.

*The mar
quess of Bas
den slaine.*

While these bloody broyles were continued betweene the aduauntgards, his excellency caused his maire battaile to dismarch, the right wing whereof, in which was the Duke of *Annaile*, and the marquesse of *Baden* with all his Reisters, gaue in so farre afore the rest, that the marquesse was there slaine, and many others for, companions of that mortall charge: and *Monsieur* himselfe, albeit hee marched full vpon the discouerie of the great Artillery, made such haste, that he left the Switzers vnder Collonell *Phiffer*, and their generall *Moris*, with the other bataillon very farre behind: which when the Protestants troupes discouered, they casting themselues desperately into his esquadron, breaking in euē hard to their Cornet, made them that followed his excellencie to abandon the place: notwithstanding, al the deuoier of the Duke *De Lengauille*, *Tuanne*, *Carnavallet*, *Villars*, and others, who indeuoured with all their might to repell the insiting confederates: in a word, this charge was so terrible, that the most assyred *En lignes* beganne to turne head, and had not the mareschall *Coffe* with his Switzers hasted apace, the battaile had quickly beeene at an ende.

Count

Count *Lodwick* seeing the Marechall aduaunce, thrust in verie lustily with his troupes of Almaines and French, who sought it out most couragiouly. By this time had the Marechall *Biron* rallyed diuerse dispersed troupes, and with his owne, which as yet remayned vnbroken, and the Switzers, went directly *A great carnage among the Lancœnnes* towards the Lancequenets: but they beeing abandoned by their horsemen, *nage among the Lancœnnes* and shrewdly galled with the harquebuziers, were exposed in a manner to the crueltie of the Switzers, their ancient enemies, who entring in as it were at the breach, committed a wonderfull carnage and mortalite among them. Of foure thousand there escaped not past sometwo hundred, or therabouts. And the same misfortune had fallen vpon threethousand Frenchmen, which were arraunged with them, had not *Monsieur* of a generous and noble nature contyning himselfe with the honour of so glorious a victorie, commaunded to saue their lives.

And this was the end of this great battell, where both the French men, Almaines, Italians, Burgonians, Swizzars, Flemings, and Lancequenets had leyisure to trie their valours at the full. The Protestants lost at this encounter, three thousand Lancequenets, and a thousand ffe hundred Frenchmen. There perished also of men of name, *Taigny*, *Pagreffier*, *Dantricourt*, *Biron* brother to the Catholike, and *Saint Benet*, the ensigne of the Admirals companie. *La Noye*, and *Acier*, were taken prisoners, and their Reisters lost all their Wagons. Of the Catholiques there perished some ffe or sixe hundred horsemen, and twise so manie were grieuously hurt; whereof the most part liued not long after. The Count *Reingraue* the elder, the Marques of *Baden*, and *Cleremont* of *Dauphinie*, were slaine. The yong *Reingraue*, the Earles of *Isi*, and *Santelle*, Italians, with the Duke of *Guise*, *Scamberg*, *Bassompier*, and *de Maillé*, were sore wounded, but afterwards recovered.

*The number
that was slain
on both sides.*

CHAP. XIII.

*Saint Iean d'Angely, besieged and taken by the Catholiks. The king offresh a peace, which
is refused by the Protestants. Monsieur de Bellegard is slaine.*



He losse of this battayle gaue a maruellous checke to the affayres of the Protestants, who now were dryuen to forfake *A great alarum in the* the Champaigne, whereof they were maisters not long before, and sundrie of their followers beganne to shrinke, *Protestants* thinking that all had beene lost, and manie good Townes *affayres*, which before fauoured their proceedings, fell quite from them in detraction, and followed the good fortune of the victorious Catholiques. So mutable and changeable are these earthly matters, and are set in so fickle an estate and condition, that one woulde thinke, that enen God himselfe, who guideth and governeth all with the eye of his prouidence, were delighted with an alternative course, and continuall chaunge in all things.

Albeit the affayres of the Protestants stooode but in a desperate estate, yet lyke men of great courage, wisdome, and policie, they woulde not shrinke

H from

from the cause, but sought as it were to begin the game afresh, and by all meanes to maintaine their honor and credits with al their associates. And (if it might be) to repaire their losses, or at the leaft, to keepe that which remained in their poſſeſſions. Wherupon they fortified ſundry townes, as *Niort, Angolesme, Saint Jean d'Angely, Rachell,* and others, with auſſurance that the worſt of theſe were iuſſicient to ſtay the Catholikes, if they ſhould happen to attempt them, vntill they had gathered ſome new forces. They alſo wrote letters, into all quarters, to alſemblie new troupes, and left nothing vnattempted, which might any way tend to the aduaancement of their affayres.

S. Jean d'Angely besieged by the Caſtiglier.

His excellencie following his good fortune, tooke forthwith ſundry good townes, as *Parthenay, Niort, Lusignen, Fontenay,* and ſome others, all places yeelding vnto him of theyr owne accord : ſo that hee never stayed his courſe vntill hee came before *Saint Jean d'Angely*, whereof the Lorde *Pilles* was Gouernour. And hauing ſummoned the Towne, and they within returning an aunſwere that lyked him not, hee foorthwith planted his ſiege, and placed his Cannon, and with maruaylous furie pleyed the batterie. And for the greater terrorre of the besieged, the King, the Queene mother, the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, accompanied with a great troupe of Nobles and Gentlemen their attendants, came to the Campe, who were ſaluted with a thundering peale of Ordinaunce, intermingled with ſundrie vollies of ſmall ſhortte, besides many fireworks, and warrelike deuifes, as well to welcome their Maiefties, as to daunt and diſmay the besieged Protestants. But they as men reſolute to maintaine theyr lyues and libertyes, encouraged each other valyauntlie to abyde the furie of the Catholiques, and laboured day and night to repayre the breaches. Yea, they reſolutely ſtoode to theyr rackeling, and ſo Souldiourlyke bare themſelues, that after manie hote skirmiſhes, and deſperate auſtautes, beeing men of noble valour, and commaunded by a generous and

S. Jean d'Angely yealded upon condition

couragious Chieftaine, the King was content to take the towne vpon composition, and to offer them honourable conditions, promising them leauue to depart with bagge and baggage, with their enſignes displayed, and to bee ſafelie conducted whither ſoever they woulde : But before the King coulde bring them to this paſſe, hee had ſpent a long time, loſt the valiaunt *Martigues*, *Defens*, one of the maifters of the Campe, with manie other moft singular and braue leaders, and well neare teane thouſand common ſouldiours. So that this ſiege gaue the Catholiques as ſhrewde a checke, as that of *Poitiers* did the Protestants.

The King inclineth to a peace.

The Protes- tants refuse a peace.

The King beeing greatlie wearyd with theſe broyles, beganne of his owne accord to incline to a peace, ſuppoſing indeede, that those of the Religion would accept of any conditions. But they beeing too often before beguyled with fayre wordes, woulde not hearken thereto, leaft the world ſhould thinke, that they were no longer able to maintaine their caufe: a ſpeciall plotte (ſayd they) to diſcountenaunce the rest of theyr proceedings. VVhereupon both the Catholiques, and Protestants, ſtill continued to vexe each other in all heſtill manner. The Count de *Lude*, and *Pygallard*, recoured *Marans*, *Brouages*, and many other Iſlandes from the Confederates, which were againe regayned by *La Noue*, and ſtronglie fortifyed for the further aduaancement

ment of the affayres of the Protestants. Who preuyaled also verie mighty by
Sea, taking manie great pryses, which were no small meanes to further theyr
desaignements.

Whilst things fell out in this maner about *Rochell*, the Princes, the Admi-
ral, and the rest of the chiefe of the confederates, had greatly encreased their
forces, and hasted to ioynetheir troupes with *Montgommery*, *Monbrune*, and o-
ther Chieftaines, who had gathered a great number of harquebuziers, to supply
those bandes, which had beeene broken at the batteil of *Mour counter*. And ha-
ving thus reeforced their army, they marched towards *Lorrain*, there to attend
the comming of theyr Almaynes. And as they passed through *Languedocke*,
and came neare vnto *Mountpellier*, *La Loue*, one of the Mareschals of the campe
was slaine, as he was fast alleepe in the dead of the night, through the great
negligence of the Sentinels, <sup>La Loue
slain through
the neglig-
ence of the
Sentinels,</sup> who beeinge suddenly surprised by the garrison
within the Towne, were the cause of the death of this braue Chieftaine, who
for his valour, courage, and noble conduct, was highly commended of all the
Protestants.

Many townez were gayned by the Princes in these quarters, as *Lunell*, *Nismes*,
Margarite, *Saint Ambrose*, *Saint Jean*, *Saint Privat*, *Bezouze*, *Castillon*, *Alets*, with
sundry other of good importance: by which happy exploits, the confederates
did begin afresh to countenance themselues, and to recover much of their for-
mer honour and renowme. When as the K. was aduertised of all their deaignes,
and how that they dayly encreased their forces, surprised many castels, & strong
holds, and were now almost ioyned with their Reisters, with whole ayd they
resolved to returne againe into the heart of *France*, and peraduenture once more
to besiege the capitoll of all the Kingdome, he dispatched forthwith the Mare-
schall *Coffy*, with an armie, wherein were 4000. Switzers, 6000. French har-
quebuziers, some 3, or 4000. horse, and twelue great peeces of Ordinance, with
which forces he marched towards the princes, who were incamped at a place
called *Saint Jean*, in *Burgundy*, with some 2500. harquebuziers, 2000. horse, and <sup>Marechal
Coffy sent
against the
Princes.</sup>
eighteene cornets of Reisters. These two armies came no sooner in view each
of other, but that their *Enfans per sus* began the game, so that there was a hot skir-
mish on both sides. The Prince of *Berne*, and *Conde*, were there in person, each of
them in the front of their Regiment, and resolutely bent to go to the charge,
and there to make the first triall of their fortune. The fight continued long, and
many were slaine: but the Catholikes having the worse, after they had lost *Mon-*
sieur de Belliegard, one of the Knights of the order, besides diuerse others of good
accoit, were forced to hisse the Protestants to passe, who hasting on their way,
after great trouble, and a long and painefull iourney, having in a maner roun-
ded all *France*, at the last they drewe neare to *La Charitié*, *Sancerre*, *Anzin*, *Ve-
zelay*, and other Townes of the Religion, where they defended themselues to
theyr maruaylous comfort and contentation. Nowewas the treatie of peace
before mentioned reiterated, and earnestly pursued by diuerse, who perswaded
the King, that these intestine warres consumed none but his Subiectes: *The King*
that the murtherers, robberies, bushings, and suchlike miseryes, woulde bee the ^{perswaded to}
confusion of the whole state, and that who so euer gayned, yet hee lost, to ^{a peace.}
the great impouerishing of the Crowne of *France*, and the vter destruction.

of that noble kingdome, which had beeene the paragon of all Europe.

These and the like reasons induced the King at length to condiscend to a peace: which was accepted by the confederates, and published in the yere 1570. to the great comfort of all the French, and exceeding quiete of the whole lande: where we may see the strange and wonderful mutabilitie of mens minds, which as they are not long contented with one & the self same estate: so do they seldom or never like the better, before they haue beeene well scourged with the rod of their owne folly, and taught by wofull experience howe to discerne betweene good and bad.

CHAP. XIII.

Peace proclaimed in France. The mariages of the King, the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Guise, and the Admirall. The Queene of Navarre goeth to the Court. The Admirall goeth to the Court. The death of the Queene of Navarre.

Peace pro-
claimed.



The kings Edict for the establishing of a peace was no sooner published, but that the forces on both sides were forthwith licenced to depart, every man to his owne house, which hee had not seene for a long time before, to the vnspeakable ioy of the protestants, & no small comfort to the better and honestest sort of the Papists, who as mariners that haue escaped some dangerous & troublous tempests, and are arriuied safely in their wished port, held vp their hāds to heauen with giuing thanks for so vnspeakeable a blessing, and earnestly entreated the almighty, that they might spend the rest of their dayes in peace and quietnes.

The Princes with the Queene of Navarre, and sundry of the chiefe of the Protestants, as the Admirall, the Count Lodowick of Nassau, Teigny, La Nose, and diverse other withdrew themselves to Rochell, for their greater securitie, vntil they might see how the kings Edict would be executed. Now began there a great alteration in the minds of the French, & all mens actions were suddenly changed (as a man would haue thought) after a strange & wonderfull maner. For where as not long before there was not alake, but of hatred, wrath, murther, bloodie broyles, and most cruel and vnnaturall warres, now was there nothing so much spoken of, as loue, amitie, friendship, and making of mariages. The King was espoused to Isabel the second daughter to Maximilian the emperor, whose nuptials were solemnised with great pompe and magnificence. *Lois of Bourbon* and Duke of Montpensier, maried with the Duke of Guises sister, and the Duke of Guise marched with the widowe of the late Prince Portion, one of the principall of the Confederates. The Marechall Goffy, and Proutiere one of the Secretaryes of estate, were sent vnto Rochell, to treate with the Queene of Navarre, as touching a marriage, betweene the Prince of Barre her sonne, and the Ladie Margaret the Kinges sister: a thing in shewe highlie tending to the honour of the Prince, and the establishing of a perpetuall peace and amitie with the Confederates. The Prince of Conde was marryed to Marie de Cleves, the youngest daughter to the Duke of Nevers: the Admirall with the daughter of the Count of Entremont in Sancy, and the young Teigny with *Lois of Colligny*, the

The King
marrieth.

Duke Mont-
pensier mar-
rieth.

D. of Guise
marrieth.

The prince of
Conde mar-
rieth.

The admirall
marrieth.

the Admirals daughter : thus was there nothing but feasting, banqueting, singing, revelling, and making of loue, throughout all the partes of *Fraunce*.

1571

The king seemed to stande highly contented with this peace, and began dayly more and more to countenaunce the Protestants. For hauing once perswaded ^{The Queen of} *Navarre* to come to the court, both he, the Queen mother, the ^{of Navarre} *Dukes of Annon*, and *Alesson*, the Kings brethren, did incertayne her in most lo-^{gues to the}
uring and friendly maner, making her the best welcome that might be imagined. *Count Lodovicke*, brother to the Prince of *Ornay*, who attended her, was like-^{ly} verie honourably receyued by the King, who promised him to ayde the Prince his brother agaynst the Spaniard, and for that purpose had commaunded preparation to be made both by sea and land, as though he had intended to begin the warres with all speede : so that the King delired nothing more then to aduaunce the assayres of the Protestants. The marriage of the yong Prince of *Barne*, and the conquest of the lowe Countreys, were the things that the King seemed to affect most. And because the Admirall was a verie wise man, an olde Souldiour, the best experienced Captaine of all *Fraunce*, and most skilfull in warlike assayres. The King sent the Mareschall *Coffy*, to *Rochell*, to perswade with him to come to the Court, and to assist his soueraigne in so houourable an enterprize, the Admirall at the first was very vnwilling of himselfe, and had dayly aduertisements to dissuade him from that voyage. But after many per-^{The admiral} *sualsions* vsed by the Mareschall, sundry friendly messages from the King, and ^{goes to the} his fataill mishap (as it were) leading him thereto, he suffered himselfe to be gaine-^{Court.}
ned, and to be wooed, by those who indeed loued him but a little.

He was no sooner come to *Paris*, but the people flockt together to see him, as to see a wonder. The King receyued him with much kindnesse, givning him great honour, calling him father at euerie worde. And when the Admirall kneeled, the King arose and tooke him vp, protesting that he was the most welcome man liuing: and that never any day was more ioyful vnto him then that, wherein he did see the end of so many miseries, and the beginning of peace and quietnesse for the whole lande. And among manie other speaches, hee chaunced to vtter these words. Nowe we haue once gotten your companie, you shal not depart from vs: and this hee vttered with great laughter, as a token of much ioy and delight. The Queen mother, his excellencie, the Duke of *Alesson*, and all the principall Courtilers welcomed him, with farre greater honour then he expected : and that which was more: all these curties were accompanied with the great liberalitie of the Prince, who gaue him an hundred thousand pounds in recompence of his losses sustained in the former wars, besides the reuenues of the benefices which were belonging to his brother *Odet* the Cardinal of *Chastillon*, who was lately deceased in *England*. He was also admitted into the Kings priuie Councell. His sonne in law *Teligny*, was verie much honoured. *Cagnes* was made one of the maisters of the requests: and to be short, all the Admirals friends rasted of the kings liberalitie, to the great contentment of the Protestants, and the maruellous grudging of the Catholiques.

1572

This honourable dealing, gaue great hope of the continuance of the peace, and the encrease of amitie amongst the French Nation, in so much

as the most rested seure, reposing themselues in the faythfull promises of their prince: yet manie suspected that all was but holy water of the Court, and alluring baytes to catch the poore Protestants, and afterwards to dispose of them as should be thought for their most aduaantage: following (said they) herein the olde *maxime* in pollicie, which is that where the skin of the Lion will not serue, there it is best to put on the foxes coat. The Queene of *Navarre* was earnestly dissuaded by sundry letters from many of her friends, from giuing her consent to the mariage. The Admirall was likewise aduertised by secret messengers, that in no wise he shold goto *Paris*, nor come within the reach of his enemies: but all would not serue, so desirous were they of the yong princes preserment, & so maruellously blinded at that instant. But whilest the Queene of *Navarre* was at *Paris* busied in prouiding for the mariage of her son, she suddenly fell sicke and died the 10. of Iune, 1572. to the great griece of those of the reformed religion, who exceedingly bewayled the death of so vertuous and constant a Lady, and one that had beene a most noble maintainer of the truth all her dayes.

C H A P. X V.

The Massacre at Paris.

The sudden death of this Queene, bred a sore suspition, that she was poisoned, and wihal brought some delay the to mariage: but at length all doubts being cleared, & both parties agreed, the time appointed for the solemnising of the nuptials being come, the yong King of *Navarre* and the Lady *Margaret* were affianced with great solemnitie, in our Lady Church in *Paris*, by the Cardinall of *Burbon*, the 18. of August, 1572. in the presence of the King, the Queene mother, the Duke of *Anjou* and *Alenson*, the Prince of *Conde*, with all the principall protestants. The mariage ended, there was nothing but banqueting, chearing, tilting, and all the deuises that might bee to please the eie, and delight the eare, & to set forth all things in most royll and magnificent maner. All old rancour and malice seemed to be buried in the pit of oblivion, by reason of this new alliance, which confirmed the hope of a most blessed peace in the time to come. But in the middest of all this ioy and solace, there fell out a sudden accident, which astonished some, and made others to bethinke themselues, and to suspect the worst, and that was this.

The admirall shot with an arquebus. Vpon the 22. of August, as the Admirall was going from the Court toward his lodging, hee was suddainlie shotte with a harquebus out at a window of the house, where *Villemus* (who had beene schoole-maister to the Duke of *Guise*) did vsually lodge, and sore wounded with three Bullettes, as hee was going a sooth pace in the streeete, and reading a Supplication, which had heene delivered vnto him a little before. One of the Bullets stroke off his fore finger, and with the other hee was wounded in the left Arme. The Admirall poynted to the house from whence the peece was shott, and willed some of his Gentlemen to go search who was within: sending Captaine *Pilles*, and Captaine *Momus*, to aduertise the King of his hurt.

Whilst

Whilest he was led home by the lord *Guerchy* & another gentleman: the doore, of the house beeing broken open, the harquebus was found, but the harquebusier was fled out at a backe gate, and finding a spanish Gennet which was there prouided in a readinesse, galloped away with all speede, crying as hee went, that now there was no Admirall in France.

Captaine *Pilles* finding the King at *Fennis* with the Duke of *Gassé*, related vnto him the Admirals hurt, which hee no sooner vnderstood, but he leauing his play, threw down his racket, & looking very penitually, went to his Chamber: the king of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Count *Rochefaucont*, and many other Lords, knights and Gentlemen of the Religion, beeing enformed of this mishap, went presently to visit the Admirall. The King taking with him the Queene mother, his two brethren, and most of the principall Catholikes went likewise to comfort him, shewing many signes of great sorrow for his harme, complaining that indeede the Admirall felte the harme, but the dishonour was done to the King, vpon whose faithfull promise hee was come to the Court, and therefore both hee that had committed the fact, and all that consented thereto should bee most severely punished, to the example of all other vilianous and notorious malefactors: whereuoer the Admirall answered, that hee would leauue the reuenge to God, and the execution of Justice to the King, but as for the authour hee was knowne well inough, and because hee could not tell how long hee had to live, hee besought the king that hee might talke with him in secret, touching things of very great importance, and such as were most necessarie for the state of the Kingdome. The King seemed to bee willing herewith, but the Queen mother by a denise brake off their talke for that time, so that there was no further conference: and because the king of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and diuers others, moued the king that they might haue leauue to carrie the Admiral to his house at *Chastillon*, which was some two daies iourney from *Paris*, as to a place of greater quiet and securitie: the king not willing to condiscend thereunto, answered, that so long a journey would very much endanger his health: and therefore he thought it better to haue him lodged in the *Louvre* neere vnto his owne person, where he should be safe from all perill: furthermore he willed all the cheefe of the Protestant Nobilitie, to place themselves as neare him as they could, in case that if there were any need they might be readie to succour one another, and appointed the Mareschall *Coffy* with a band of harquebusiers to guard his lodging. Vpon the Satterday, which was *The Wolfe* the twenty three of August, the councell sat about the examination of certaine *Memorancy* witnesses touching the fact, and sundrie other suspected persons, taking great paines (as it seemed) to bout out the truth, as though they meant to punish the offender with all rigour and seueritie. With these and the like appearances, the protestants helde themselves well satisfied, neuer suspecting that all was but dissimulation and that so great mischiefe did hang ouer their heads.

The same day there was a sodaine rumour ouer al the Citie, that the king had sent for the Mareschall *Memorancy*, commanding him to come to him with al the forces hee could make, and therefore the Parisians were best to stande vpon their guard: but all was founde in the end to be vterly false. *Teligny* beeing given to vnderstand by the Admirals trumpetters that there were sixe cart loades of

*The notable
dissimulation
of the King.*

*The king goes
to visit
the Admiral*

*appointed to
keep the
Louvre.*

THE MVTABILITIE

of Armour brought into the *Louvre*, answered that hee did not like that men should bee so suspitious without cause: for his part hee was well assured of the Kings good fauour, and wished other men were so likewise, seeing it was not possible that there should be any harme intended towardes them whome the king had honoured so many waies, and had oftentimes so solemnely sworne to remaine theyr gracious and louing soveraigne.

But the king with all those of his secret counsell, seeing that they had nowe brought all things aboute euē as they had desired, and that the Admirall was taken in a trap and all his principall associates, so snarled in their nets that it was impossible for them to get out, thought it high time to putte in execution that which they had purposed so long before, and at that instant to finish the dayes of all the Protestants. Whereupon a signall was givien in the dead of the night by the touling of a Bell in the *Louvre*: which was no sooner heard by *Cassy*, who (as is alreadie sayde) with a bande of harquebusiers guarded the Admiralles lodging, but that hee commaunded his men to breake open the doores, and to kill as many as they sounede in their wayes. The Admirall hearing the noyse and fearing some seditious enterprise, willed one of his Gentlemen to call to the guard which was appointed him by the King, little imagining that it was they that came to offer him such violence, and arising out of his bedde, putte on his night gowne, and kneeled downe to pray.

By this time were sundrie of the murtherers gotten in, & had slaine such as they found in the house. The first that entered into the Admirals chamber was one *Besme* an Almaine, a desperate ruffian, one of the Duke of *Guyse*s houſhold seruants, who with his drawne ſword in his hand, ſayde: Art thou the Admirall? Who anſwered with great conſtancie, So I am called. Which hee had no ſooner vittered, but that *Besme* runne him through with a ſword, and another called

Atinius, ſhot him into the breſt with a Pifſoll, and the rest as *Canſius* and *Sarboix*, ſtabbed him with their daggers, and threw him out at the window, to the Duke of *Guyse* and *Aumale*, and the Chualier of *Angoſme* (who was King *Henry* his baſtard) all which ſtood crying ouer to make a quicke diſpatch, and would not departe thence vntil they were assured of his death, and for that hee was ſo bloudied about the face by reaſon of his woundes vpon his head, that it was hard to know him: the *Guyse* kneeled downe and wiped away the bloud with his handkercheſſe, and ſeeing it was hee whom they looked for, cryed out, that they hadde made a happy beginning, willing them to proceede

for it was the Kings pleaſure, and that the K. commanded them to ſpare none of the Hugonors: and this hee vittered very often and with a loude voyce. A certaine Italian cutte off the Admirals head, and hauing embalmed it, ſent it to *Rome* as a preſent to the Pope. Some cutte off his handes, and others his ſecret partes, and hauing trayled his body through the ſtreets, hung uppe his dead carafe on a gibbet at *Mountfaulcon*: and this was the lamehable ende of this noble Gentleman, who for his wiſedome, pollicie, courage and conſtan-
cie in the profeſſion of Gods truthe, and maintenance of the ſame, was one
of the moſt excellent and famous men that euer was bred and brought vp in
mirall.

The Admirals head ſent to Rome.

The great commendation of the Admirall.

The

The same day that the Admirall was hurt, the king aduised his brother in law the king of *Navarre*, to cause sometenne or twelve of his trustiest friends to lodge neere him, the better to defende him if the Duke of *Gaye* (whom he termed a shrewd boy) should happen to attempt any thing against him. These Gentlemen and some others who were lodged in the king of *Navarres* outer Chamber, after the death of the Admirall, and that they were disarmed by *Nancy*, hauing their swords and daggers taken away, were brought to the gate of the *Louvre* and there were murthered before the kings face. Then were the king of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* brought before the king, whotolde them that hee would not suffer any more Religions in his Land then one, and therefore if they loued their liues, they must nowe become Catholikes and go to masse, for hee meant not to beare with them any longer. The king of *Na-*
navarre
arde the
prince of
Conde
brought bes-
fore the king.
three daies
and so was sent to prison
beeing first called obstinate, seditious,
and rebellious traitor, and the sonne of a rebellious traytor.

Nowe beganne the Courtiers with the kings guard, who were appointed to massacre the Protestant Nobilitie, to kill and murther all sorts in most outragious manner. The Count *Rochfacont* so greatly beloued of *Henry the second*
Count Roch-
facont.
for his conceited and pleasant humour, adorned with so many excellent graces and noble vertues, fit for a perfect courtier, was forced to yeilde vphis life to these merciless wretches, who saluted him with this pittious godmorrow. *Teligny de Montrenill*, the Admirals sonne in Law, and for his humble and milde spirit, graced with a singular dexteritie in the manningage of all publike affaires, very deere vnto his Wife and prudent Father, was leene of many, but no man was so hardy as once to touch him, vntill at last a stranger that knew him not, ranke him thorow with a Rapier, as hee was bewailing the death of so many braue men. The Barron of *Pardaillon*, the Barron of *Pilles*, *Soubize*, and *Puniant*,
Pardaillon.
Pilles.
Soubize.
Puniant.
all very famous and worthie men, hauing beeene commanders in Cheefe, and well worthie for their rare vertues of better fortune, were there murthered after a most disloyall and trecherous manner. The marquesse of *Reuell* was hotly pursued as hee fled in his shirt towardsthe Riuver side, and there was slaine by
Reuell.
Bussy of Amboise his neere kinsman. *Monsieur* the kings brother, at the request of *Archam*, the Captaine of his guard, who was amorous of the Lady *Chastene-*
ry, sent certaine souldiers to kill *La Force* her father in law, who had thought that they had likewise slaine both her brethren: but there was but one founde dead, and the other beeing very sore wounded, escaped by reason he was couered with the dead body of his Father, where hee remained vntill the euening following, and then secretly conveyed himselfe into the lodging of the Mareschall *Biron* his kinsman: which when his sister *Chasteneray* vnderstood, being sorrie that shee could not be heire as she earnestly desired, she went to the Mareschals house, fayning that shee was maruaillously glad that her brother had so escaped, desiring to see him, that shee might comfort him: but the mareschall smelling her intent, would not bewray where hee was, and by that meanes sauved his life.

By

By this time was the signall giuen to such as commanded ouer the common people, to make dispaich of the rest of the Protestants, who beeing in a readinesse, and encouraged by the Duke of Guise, Aumale, and Nevers, slew euerie and butchery one that fell into their handes: yea, they so greedily thirsted after innocent in the Cittie, blood, that in a short time they had made such a maruailous carnage and butcherie, that the streetes seemed to be pauid with dead carcases, and Cartes were laden with the bodies of men, women, and children, which were throwne into the Riuere: death and desolation walked about in euerie corner of this Cittie, and that in most gasty and greeuous manner, to the extreme horrour and dreade of euerie beholder. There was nothing but weeping, wayling, and lamentation, and a most wofull and fearefull criethroughout the whole Cittie.

The Protestants in Saint Germaines escape by flying away.

The king helps to murder the Protestants.

The number of Protestants slain in Paris.

The shameles self fall of the Queen mother.

About the breake of the day, the Duke of Guise, Nevers, and Aumale, brethren in euill, and the cheefest authors in that pitious tragedie, went to awake sundrie of the Protestant Nobilitie, who were lodged in the suburbs of Saint Germain, as the Vidame of Chartres, the Count of Montgomery, the Lord of Fountenay, Caumont, Columbiers, and many others, who beeing aduertised of that which had happened, supposed at the first that it had beene some vprore of the people, and therefore purposed to haue gone to ayde the King, fearing there had beene some danger towards his person: but on the sodain they discouered 200. armed men, and those of the kings guard, who cried, kill, kill, shottting at them; and that in the kings sight, who also (as is reported) took a harquebuz, and swearing and blaspheming in most heathenish maner, cried out, shoot, shoot, Gods heart, they flie, they flie. As those of the reformed Religion saw this, they fled with all possible speede; leauing whatsoeuer they had behinde them, being pursued by those three Dukes before remembred. The Bastard of Angouleme and diuers others (who wounded some, and had killed many, had they not beene hindred by the negligence of the Porter, who mistooke the keyes of the gates where they shoulde haue issued forth) was the occasion that the Protestants had some little time given them to prouide for their better securitie.

They were no sooner gone, but the Switzers of the kings guard, and sundrie courtiers spoyled their houses, killing whomsoeuer they found, & cruelly murthering both man, woman, and child: all that day, being the 24. of August, 1572. was spent in massacring, rauishing, & sacking, so that there perished by this turkish and barbarous villany, aboue 10000. persons, as well noble men as Gentle-men, presidents of courts, counsellors, aduocates, schollars, preachers, phi-sitions, proctors, marchants, artisans, women, maides, and children. All places were full of dead carcases, the thresholds, gates, and posts of the kings pallece were painted with the bloud of the slaine: yea, the chanelles overflowed therewith; and the water in the Riuere was turned into a red colour: such and so horrible was the slaughter and butcherie which was made vpon the poore Hugo-nors. The king, the Queene mother, the kings brethren, with many Lords and Ladies of the Court, went out in the euening to view the dead bodies, and among others the Queene mother would needes see the nakednesse of Sonbize, for that shee had beene enformed that hee was not able to get any children.

The

The king not satisfied with the slaughter of so many braue men within Paris sent letters to the Gouvernours of all his principall Cities, as *Orleance, Tonrs, Meaux, Angiers, Bourges, Tholouex, Lyons*, and diuers others, that they should likewise kill all the Protestants within their iurisdiction: which commandement was forthwith put in execution, and a most horrible slaughter followed in all places, which bereaued aboue a hundred thousand of their liues within the territories of France, in so much as that it was verily thought that all that were of the Religion were eyther slaine, or else fled into forraine Countreyes.

The number
of protestants,
slaine in e-
ther places.

1573

C H A P. XVI.

Rochel holdeth out against the King. The beginning of the fourth Civil warres. The siege of Rochel. The siege of Sancerre. The Embassadors of Polonia come to the campe before Rochel. Monsieur raiseth his siege.



How would not hauethought but that now the Gospel had bin vitterly extinguished in France, & that the Catholikes by this execrable devise, should haue attained to the full period of their desires, no man of name rentayning to make head against them, or to crosse their fortune which nowe seemed so mightily to fauour their designes: and indeede the king was verily perswaded that at this present he might haue accomplished whatsoeuer hee would, and that not any durst haue shewed themselves to fauour the resourmed Religion. Wherupon he wrote letters to sundry Protestant townes, commanding them to receiue popish Garrisons, and to liue after the Catholike manner, but they vitterly refused to satisfie the king heerein, and would not bee induced to condiscend vnto any such thing, by all the perswasions that could bee vsed, but fortified themselves as strongly as they could, purposing to die, rather then to yeeld and abiure their Religion.

*The K. decei-
ved in his ex-
pectation.*

The King, partly by threatening and menacing the king of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, and partly by faire promises, but especially by the wicked minister of *Rosier*, who of late was become an apostate, had caused them to abiure their Religion, and to conforme themselves to the rites of the Romain church, and thinking them to be fit instruments to gaine sundrie strong Townes, who otherwise would not open their gates but by force of Cannon: caused them to write their letters to such as hee thought meete, and to vse all the reasons that might bee to draw them to his obedience, by which devise some relented, and were content to follow the example of those great Princes, seeing they had no hope to maintaine their cause, hauing lost all their cheeferaunes and princi-
pal commanders. But Rochel, Sancerre, Montauban, Nisines, and some other held out, standing vpon their guards, and prouiding to fortifie themselves in all de-

*credit with
the Prince of
Conde, had
recanted his
Religion, and
by his perswas-
sions caused
the Princes
likewise to
denie his.*

*Rochel and
sundrie other
townes held
out against
the King.*

*out against
the King.*

refused

THE MVFABILITIE

refused to accept of any other Gouvernor then theyr Maior, purposing to main-taine their Religion, customes, and liberties; and that with the lotie of their lynes. Whentheking was aduertised heereof, and that he evidently perceiued that faire meanes would not preuaile, hee resolved to besiegethe I owne, and by force of Armes to bring them vnder his obedience. Whereupon hee com-manded *Biron* to gathere a great armie, & to inuest the Rochelers with al speed, who did not onely by themselves crosse the desaignements of the Catholikes, but were the occasion that many other townes in *Gascogne, Languedock, Quercy, Poictou, Auvergne, and Dauphony* beganne to plucke vp their spirits, and to oppose themselves against the kings proceedings.

*The begin-
ning of the
fourth civill
warrs.*

*Rochel before
gad.*

Besides the forces that the Marechall brought by land, there was a great na-vie of shippes appoynted to keepe the seas, and to flop vp the hauen that no victuall or other necessaries should be conueyed in by water, nor any be sus-ferred to go foorth to giue any aduertisements to their confederates. All things being thus appoynted in a readinesse both by sea and land, the Duke of *Annonay*, the Kings brother, and his Lieutenant generall throughout all his dominions, departed from *Paris* the tenth of Ianuary, 1573, accompanied with the Duke of *Arlon* his brother, the king of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Prince Dauphin his sonne, the Duke of *Longauille*, of *Bouillon*, of *Guyse*, of *Aumale*, and of *Nevers*, the marquesse of *Maine*, the mareschals of *Cossy*, *Rott* and *Biron*, the Count *Rochefaucont*, *Chauigny*, *Mouluc*, *La Valette*, *Maulerier*, *Passy*, *Puyallard*, *Clermont*, *Du Gas*, *Cossenes*, with many other Lords, knights, and Gentlemen, who no sooner arriuied at the Campe, but they were saluted with a thundring peale of great Ordenance, and all the battailons of soormen flood readie arranged, who likewise welcomed him with their whole vollyes of small shot, to the high contentment of his excellencie.

Le Nove. Monsieur vnderstanding that there were a great number of very valiant and resolute men within the Towne, who were all commanded by the noble and pollitike chiefetaine *Monsieur de la Nove*, of whose wisedome, courage, and va-jour hee had often times before made good experimant, thought it best to as-say if with smooth words & faire promises mingled with some threats, he could *lors would not induce the Rochelors*, to submit themselves wholly vnder the Kings obedi-*trust her faire* ence, assuring them, if they would so do, the king would deale most graciously *promises of* with them, and requite their loyalty with such fauor, as they should haue good cause to hold themselves well contented: but if (on the contrarie) they stub-burnely refused to condiscend hereunto, and like a rebellious rable, wilfullly re-jeft, and vndutifullly contemne so great grace offered by their soueraigne, then they should looke for no fauour hereafter, but for all the extremities that might bee, and that hee would not delist from persecuting them both with fire and sword, vntil he had taken their towne, & seene such punishment inflicted vpon them, as the nature and qualitie of so traitorous a fact required.

Those within being taught by other mens harmes to beware, & hauing learned by wofull experiance not to trust any faire promises that came from the Court, seeing the king and all his Courties hadde so notoriously falsified their words in former times, thought it best to stand vpon their guard, and not to be beguyled with suchalluring baites: which when his excellencie perceived,

bonnes

hee

hee commannded his armie to approue her neare the towne, to enarrest them
solites, to taife Mounte, to plant their Ordinances, and to amoy thole within,
as much as myght be. of the Canon was no soone placed; but that it forthwith
ployed vpon the towne very furiously, and to the grete intent of such as had
not beene acquainted with the like poynt. Those of Rochelle were poridle, but prou-
uiled all their seruites to stoppe such breaches as shold be made, and answering the
Catholiques with such shot as they had, oftentimes ouer, and skirmishing with
their enemies with double courage and iusticie. Yet the women, maydes,
and chyldren would exposethem selues to al hazard, and aduenture forth among
the soldiery, chyding them byne, comfors, & such like, marueilouslly animating ^{The courage}
such as fought with their cheerfull words, & hardy examples. And one among
the rest to fare aduenturing, that in the horest of the skirmish, she seeing one of
the Catholiques slaine, ran vnto him and tooke away his sword, and harquebus,
which she caried into the towne with great triumph, and rejoycing, sayde, that
she had adorneid her selfe with the spoyles of her enemies.

The third of March, shose within discharging a Minion from the Tower of
S. John Evangelist, pierced one of the enemies gabyons, and encountering ^{The Duke} of Lorraine: Duke of Anjou, peere of France, and Lieutenant for the King in ^{of Anjou} the Duchie of Burgundie, stroke him starker deade, to the great griefe of ^{Lans.} fundrie
of the Catholiques, of whom he was verie much beloued, for his many excell-
ent and commendable vertues. And being intencid agaynst the Rochellers
for this schaileing they could get nothing with open force, thought it best to
assay what they could do by a more secret meanes: whereupon they fell to vnde-
dermining, & spoyling al sime in digging, and deluing vnder the ground, en-
deuoring to blow vp their walles, and to ouerthrow their towers & bulwarks,
with gun-powder. But they within so nobly & valianly defended themselves,
and so politikely preuided all their strategems, that they could not by any means
accomplishe their desires. Yea, they setmed so little to regard all their endevors,
that vpon May day, in great ioytie and triumph, they decked their walles, and
towers, and with horn pipes, drummes, fumers, and other musicall and delightsome
instrumentes, setmed to spend the day in myrth and solace, as though they liitle
or nothing cared for their enemies.

Many who fterely emburdened thereligion, seeing the great courage of the
Rochellers, and their happy successe in holding our so long a time against such a
mighty power, began to pleyn vp their hearts, and openly to shew themselves:
so that now great numbers were vp in Armes in Poitou, Tanguis, Quercy,
Languedoc, Dauphiny, and fundrie other parts of the land, so that the Catholiques
who thought that they had destroyed all the Protestants in their Parish
mistrust, found themselves marueilously deceived, and many signes ap-
peared of newe ciuill warres, and those as troublesome and dangerous, as ameo-
alts before. Now the King, and all the French Catholiques, were
growing so odious, both at home and among foraigne Nations, that all the
World spake shame of shiche basse and straunge chaulties: and such Pro-
testant Townes as were stohlie forifysyd, woulde not yield to byanie per-
suasion, vniuersallie distaing in the kings wrode, whch had so oftenward so ne-
stionallie affiued his selfe to the geare dishonour, and shame of his princely
dignitie,

THE MVTABILITIE

dignitie, and perpetuall staine of the French nation.

*The marischal Dannell
in Languedocke.*

Whilest his excellencie with a mightie power besieged *Rouel*, the Marechal Dauill licutenant for the king in *Languedocke*, was sent to reduce all those quarters under the Kings obedience: but he found it a matter of more difficultie then he at the first imagined, for albeit he entred the country with a strong power, purposing to besiege *Nismes*, a place of the greatest importance of all the rest, and by force to constraine it to stand at the deuotion of the Catholikes, yet was he in the end after some losse, at the least of thousand of his best souldiours, before a perte village called *Sancerre*, compelled to give ouer his enterprise, and to disperle his men into garrisons, the better to relue them, and with all diligence to muster new forces to repayre his broken troupes.

*The siege of
Sancerre.*

Which when those of *Sancerre* understood, beeing notably encouraged by the surpassing valour of their Confederates, they resolued to endure the vittermost attempts of *La Chesatre*, and all the Catholiques, and therefore, whereas by reason of theyr long siege all vittailles beganne to bee scarce, necessarie (the mother of all sine inuentions) taught them to make manie hard shiftes, and to devise new and straunge meates.

*The great
famine in
Sancerre.*

For after that they had first eaten vp all theyr Horses, Asses, Dogges, Cates and such like, they devised to make meat of their Skirmes, roasting, seething, and broyling them vpon Girdrons, as if they had beene Tripes, Mice, and Rattes were accounted daintie delicates, and well was hee that could get them. And being still pressed with hunger, they devised to make meat of old shooes, hornes, horses and bullockes hooches; which had lien hid in the dung-hills for many yeares: the little children would broyle and rost their girdles to to fill their empie mawes. Rootes, hearbs, and barkes of trees, serued in steade of iunketting dishes: whatsoever had any moysture, taste, saouour, or smell, were it never so vnholosome, they ate it with greedinesse. And albeit they were often shewed of the daunger therof, yet wold they not take heede: for the belly had no eares.

Yea, so intollerable was the famine, that they eare the verie dung, especially of horses, which was accounted indifferent good, and therfore raked it togither, as a thing of much price. The father and mother eat their own child, which was pined to death with hunger, & forso horrible a fact were both burned.

*It is incredible what misery was in that towne, and yet they wold not yeeld, nor comit themselves to the mercy of their enemies. But at length the famine still increasing, & having not past 400. souldiers left, and those for the most part sickly, weake and wounded, and seeing no hope of any succors frō any their confederates, were content to hearken to a parle, which was offred vnto them by *La Chesatre*, and so by composition to render the towne, with the castle into the hands of the Catholikes, who had spent at the least 1914 canon shot, for the geyning of the place, & lost some 1200, or 1300 men, besides a great number that were wounded and sore hurt.*

Albeit that the Rocheffours had how for a long time very valiantly biforn them selfes, and with their often skirmishes and sallyings forth marueilously annoied the assaillants, insomuch as that besides the losse of a many common souldiours, and sundry of good accounts, his excellencie had likewise beeene vndoubtredly slaine, as hee was going to view the Mynes, had not one of his Gentlemen,

*whose name was *Pauel*, espying the fyring of the peaces, by putting himselfe before*

before his maister saued his life, by receiuing the bullet into his owne bodie: yet their prouision being wel neare spent, and the famine encreasing very sore, they beganne to bee maruellously dismayed, fearing some mutinie among the people: and the rather for that they had founde them very desirous to come to a composition with the enemies. But God did miraculously help them in this extremity, by sending into their hauen an exceeding multitude of muscles, cockles ^{culowly re-} and small fishes, wherewith they plentifully stord themselves in despite of all the Catholikes.

As this extraordinarie prouision did mightily encourage the inhabitants to hold out: so did it not a little dismay their enemies, and made them much more inclinable to peace then before: for they hauing besieged the towne for a long time, and endured much hunger and cold, hoping at last to gaine it, as a recompence for all their labours, did now dispaire thereof, seeing it was so extraordinarily victualled, and as it were relieued from heauen. Besides, the Catholikes themselves begano to fall into want and penurie, their souldiers waxed sick, and many did dayly drop away: their wounded and hurt men were so many, and so negligently looked vnto, that it was a most pitifull spectacle, to behold so many lazers and maimed persons in one place, who for want of necessarie attendance grew incurable: yea, the lice did so abound among them, that sundry were euen eaten and consumed with them, and the rest became so filthy, that they woulde haue loathed any to haue seene them.

About this time came the Ambassadours of Polonia to the campe, to signifie vnto his excellencie, that he was chosen king of that country. Which dignity they humbly desired him to accept of, and with as great speed as might be, to haften thither, and to take the gouernment of them, who with all duty and obedience were willing to receiue him as their king and soueraigne. Monsieur being exceeding glad of this good news, and extreamly weary of the siege, which had wasted so manie of his brauest men, desirous to see an end of the warts in France, and to take possession of the Polonian Diadem, which he had so long thirsted after, was contēt to offer such reasonable conditions as the Rochelors liked of: so that both parties being (contrarie to al expectation) suddenly agreed, the peace was proclaimed in the later end of Iuly, & the siege presently raised, to the vnspeakable comfort of all those of the reformed religion. Wherein sundry haue obserued, and not without good cause, the variable estate of this inconstant wold, which is euer waering, and cannot continue long without chaunge and alteration. For those who thought that every man would haue bowed at their becks, and that the strongest townes in all France durst not once haue made so much as any shew to resist their power & puissance, did now see themselves in a maner overthrown by a handfull of men, who not long before were at their wits end, and all their counsels brought to naught: so that they were forced (after the losse of manie braue souldiers, and valiant captaines, besides the expence of many thousands of Crownes, hauing lien before a little village seuen or eight moneths) to depart with dishonour and disgrace, hauing gotten nothing but blowes, wherwith they wasted and wearied themselves, and to seek some better place to refresh their weake and diseased troupes.

*The miseras
ble estate of
the Catholike
as the sieg
of Rochell.*

*Monsieur
raiseth his
siege before
Rochel.*

C H A P. XVII.

Those of Quercie and Languedocke refuse peace. The Marechals Memorancie and Coffy committed to prison. Marechall Danuill ioymeth with the protestants. Montgomeric landeth in Normandie. Istaken and beheaded at Paris.

1574



Y the narration of that which is alreadie past , every one may vnderstand the enterchangeable courie, and vicissitude, both of the Catholike and Protestant affaires. And that as well the one as the other, had sufficient tryall, of the ebbing and flowing of their fortune. Now let vs see, if after so great experience of their daily calamities, brought forth and nourished by reason of their ciuill dissensions, they waxed any wiser, or more warie how to preuent future mischiefs.

*Those of
Quercy and
Languedocke
refuse the
peace.*

Although that many, as well Protestants, as Papists, were very glad of this late reconciliation , and with ioyfull hearts thanked the King for their desired peace: yet those of *Quercie, Languedocke*, and (in a worde) all the Prouinces to-wards the Leuant seas, were not satisfied therewith : for that (said they) their enemies, and the authours of those execrable Parisian murthers, were still the Kings principal faourits, and nearest about his person: and therfore they were little assured of any security, but rather had cause to feare an other massacre, considering the king was ruled by such bad counsel. And further, that there had bin many as strong Edicts, and as solemnly sworne as that at *Rochel*, and yet they proved but wordes without effect, and serued but as nets to catch the poore Protestants: that with fraudulent and subtle deuises, they had euer prevailed more then by open force: and therfore now it stood them vpon (after so much schoolling) to take better heed vnto themselves, & to beware of the practises of those, whothirsted for nothing so much as for their blood, and the vter abolishing of their Religion, which they had for many yeares maintained with the daunger of their liues: adding withall , that this last pacification was made but with some particulars, without their consent, and therfore that they were not bound to keepe it, further then they liked of it.

*The assembly
of the Pro-
testants.*

These and the like reasons were alledged by a great number of the Confede- rars, who hauing bin often deceived, would not now so readily giue care vnto faire promises, but meant to stand vpon their gards, and as warily as might be, to watch the Catholikes at every turne. And to the intent they might the better maintaine their reputation , and with greater dexterite manage their assayres, they first assembled at *Millau* in *Rouergne*, and afterwards at *Montauban*, where after long and mature deliberation, they establisched an orderly course for the rest of their proceedings. And hauing gotten sundry strong townes, forts and castels into their handes, they flatly refused those conditions of peace , which the Rochellers had accepted, & fortifying themselues with a newe association and league, began to annoy the Catholiks with open warre,

*The marechals
of Memoran-
cie and Cossy* committed them to prison , and suspecting the Marechall *Danuill*,

to

to be of their confederacie, deprived him of his Lieutenantship in Languedoc, *Cofy come*
and gaue it vnto the Prince *Danphin*, son to the Duke *Montpencier*. Which when *Maredia*
the Mareschall vnderstoode, hee aranged himselfe with those of the Religion, *prison*.
teizing vpon sundry strong townes, as *Montpellier*, *Beucary*, *Lunell*, and others, *Mareschal*
fortifying them with sufficient garrisons, and all other necessaries. There were *Danphin wth*
allo great numbers of the Catholikes, whoreceyuing small fauour at the Kings *wth the*
hands, neither were forewarded for their seruices as they expected, grew male- *Protestants*,
conts, and seeing *Monsieur* the Kings brother was departed into *Polonia*, they
thought it now hit time to take their aduaantage, and by leauing themselves
with the Protestants, to reforme the policy of the land, and to reclaim the king,
who (said they) was wholly misled by the wicked coults of such, as were stran-
gers and enemies to the Crowne of France.

They had also practised with the Duke of *Alenson*, the Kings yongest brother,
to take part with them, and found him not vnwilling to becom their leader, and
generall in this so haurie an enterprise. And where as the Rochellers would not
for a long time be drawne to ioyne with the rest of the Protestants, & malecom- *Rochelliers*
tents, at last through the dexteritie and politike inducements of *La Noye*, a man
of great credit among them, they were contented to bee embarked into that ac- *wth the*
tion, and to prouide all necessaries, for the maintenance of the future wars, *rest of the*
Protestants.

The Confederates hauing all things thus in a readinesse, attended the depa- *The Duke of*
ture of the Duke of *Alenson*, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, from *Alenson wth*
the Court, and for their better safetie had sent some two hundred horse to Saint *franded from*
Germain in Lay: but the King being made priuie hereof, and his excellencie di- *going in the*
uerted by *La Moly*, the proceedings of the Protestants were mightily crossed, *Protestants*,
for the time: howbeit, like men of courage, and resolution, they went forwards,
and openly inuaded the Catholiques, both by sea and land. *Montgommery*, who
for a long while had beene in the Ile of *Jersey*, landed on the suaden in *Norman-*
die, ioyning with the Columbiers, and incorporating himselfe with the *Norman* *Montgome-*
troupes, made sharpe warre vpon the Papists, getting many townes and fortres- *wry lands in*
ses, which were very aduantagious for the Protestants. *Normandy*

Great preparation was made by the King, to withstand these proceedings, and
proclamation was sent out into all parts to assemble the *Bannes* and *Arierbannes*,
and such was the diligence vsed herein, that there was quickly gathered toge-
ther a sufficient number to make two armyes, which the King presently diui-
ded, sending the one into *Poitou*, vnder the conduct of *Montpencier*, against *La*
Noye, and the other vnder the leading of *Matignon* into *Bas Normandie*, agaynst
the Count *Mongommery*, who presuyled mightily against the Catholiques, sei-
sing vpon sundry their best townes, and strongest holds, and raunging euery
where at his pleasure. But at last the Count comming to *Domfront*, was suddenly
besiegued by his enemies: where he was taken prisoner, being shamefully forsa- *Mongommery*
ken by his souldiers, and so was led away to *Paris*, and there had his head stro- *mory taken*
ken off, the 26. of June, to the great reioycing of the Parisians, and the exces- & beheaded,
ding grecce of the Confederates.

CHAP. XVIII.

The King waxeth sick. Maketh a peace with his subiects. Ordaineth the Queene mother Regent of France, in the absence of the King of Polonia. His death. The end of the fourth ciuill warres.

*The King
waxeth sickly*



*Duke Mont
pencier res
turnis to the
Court.*

*The king do-
forn to make
peace with
his subiects.*

*The end of
the fourth ci-
uill warres.*

*The Queene
mother
Regent of
France.*

*The death of
Charles the
ninth, King
of France.*

Whiles the Duke Montpencier besieged Fontenay, the King, who had now for a good while beene sickly, and diseased, began to waxe worse and worse, insomuch as the Queene mother fearing, that if he should die vpon the sudden, there woulde be maruellous hurly burlies at court, thought it best to sende for the Duke, whom she comanded to repaire vnto the kings presence with all speed: who thereupon brake vp his siege,

licensing his army to depart, and he himself hasted to the Court. There he found a strange Metamorphosis, for the king was now verie desirous to end the wars, and to make a peace with the Protestants, and would haue them fauoured and protected as well as his other subiects: desiring, and that verie instantly, all sorts

to put to their helping hands, and to shew themselves furtherers of so laudable a worke. Commaunding likewise his Lieutenants and gouernors in all his Dominions, to cause his former Edicts to be diligently obserued, & to punish with all rigour and severitie, who soever refused to obey this his commaundement.

The Queene mother did likewise labour verie earnestly herein, and seemed desirous of nothing so much, as to establish a peace and quietnesse throughout all

Fraunce.

The King did still decay, and death hasted his pace to ouertake him: so that notwithstanding all the meanes that could bee imagined to escape so horre pурse: yet there was no remedie, but needes he must be arrested, and called to ac- count for his former actions. Which when with great perplexitie of minde and sorrow of heart he perceiued, hauing ordained the Queene mother for Regent (during the absence of the King of Polonia, to whom the crowne of Fraunce as next heire did appertaine) he yeelded vp his life the 30. of May, at Bois de Vincent, 1574. in the 13. yeare of his reigne, and in the 24. of his age, hauing bin the most

bloodie and cruell Prince, that euer did weare the French Diadem. And as hee continually thirsted after the blood of the poore Protestants, so did hee never cease vomiting and belching out of blood, all the time of his sicknesse, with most horrible swearing and blaspheming, vntill his last gaspe, after a most strange and fearful maner. And this was the end of Charles of Valois, and King of France: who beeing by nature wicked, by education irreligious, and by vngodly and wicked counsel easily drawne into all kinde of impious and barbarous actions, began with iniustice, continued with crueltie, and ended in misery, leauing that noble kingdom so torne and dismembred, the Nobilitie so diuided, and discontented, and the communaltie so oppressed, and impouerished, that the whole state, hauing lost the ancient splendor and dignitie, was mightyli shaken, and in a maner brought to a Chas, and confusion, and hasted (as it were) a maine pace to a lamentable change and alteration.

CHAP.

OF FRANCE.

CHAP. XIX.

Henry the third King of France and Polonia. The Queene mother laboureth for peace, which is concluded for three moneths. The Prince of Conde goeth into Germany. Lusignen dismantled. The King of Polonia stealeth away into France. The first Cauill warres. The Mareschall D'Anuill syngeth with Protestants. Cassimer cometh to the ayde of the Protestants. The Duke of Alenson departeth malecontent from Court. The ende of the first ciuill warres.



Ing Charles beeing dead, and his brother Henry king of Polonia, Henry the declared heire to the Crowne, during whose absence the King of Queene mother (as is already sayde) was proclaimed Regent: France and the Catholikes beganne to insult more then ever before ouer Polonia, the Protestants, and to vsel them in most outragious manner, presuming vppon the accustomed good fortune of their new king, and the resolute course of the Queene mother, to roote out all those of the Religion, and to expell them out of the territories of the *Fleur de Lis*. The consideration whereof did maruailously dismay many of the Protestants, and caused sundrie who inwardly favoured their proceedings, to plucke in their heades and keep themselves close, and to expect what would bee the sequell of these newe occurrences. There was great dissencion at Rochell about these matters, and long it was before they would fully determine what to do: howbeit, at length through the manifolde remonstrances of *La Noye*, they fully resolued to continue the warres, both by sea and land, as they had doone in formertimes.

The Queene mother knowing that the best way to pacifie these tumults, and to restraine the Confederates from any further proceeding in the warres, was to vsel them gently, and by smoth words and faire promises to keepe them in, vntill the comming of the new king, sent the Abbot of Gadagny to Rochell with letters to *La Noye*, in which (among other things) hee exhorted him to liue peaceably like a good subiect, and not to vex the land with newe troubles, in the absence of the king, who peraduenture would bee reuenged thereof at his comming, although shee knew that naturally hee was a very milde and mercifull Prince, and one that would maintaine his subiects both of the one and the other Religion, in peace and amitie, so farre forth as possibly hee might, & had alreadie signified the same as well to her selfe and the principall officers of the Crowne, as to sundry the greatest and cheefest Cities of the land. These letters with sundrie persuasions vsed by the Abbot, enduced the Rocheters to conclude a truce for three moneths.

Mention was made before of the purpose of the Duke of Alenson and the king of Navarre to depart the Court, & to ioyne with the Confederates, which albeit they attempted not, beeing diverted therefrom by the councell of some of their friendes, yet the late King had them in great ielousie, and therefore kept them (in a manner) as prisoners, setting spies to watch them and their actions: and for that hee suspected the two Mareschalles of *Memorye* and *Coffy*

*The Queen
mother wri.
th to La
Noye.*

*The Rochers
lors conclude
a peace for
three moneths*

to

THE MVTABILITIE

to bee of their confederacie, hee imprisoned them in the Bastile within the Louvre, and discharged the Mareschall *Dauill* brother to *Memorancie* of his Lieutenantship in *Languedock*, giuing it to the Prince *Dauphin*, sonne to the Duke *Montpencier*: and albeit the Prince of *Conde*, *Merv*, *Thore*, the vicount of *Turin*, *Montagu* and many others, were secret fauourers of his excellency in this action, yet for that they were not discouered, the king suffered them to remaine at their libertie, and sent the Prince of *Conde* into *Picardy* to looke to the gouernement of that Countrey, who beeing aduertised of that which had passed at Court, touching the Duke and the King of *Navarre*, and that there was a purpose to clap him vpp like wise, secretly conuayed himselfe into *Germany*, and soorthwith made profession of the Religion, and so practised with the Princes and the rest of his friendes in that Countrey, that hee leauied a great power of Reisters for the ayde of the French Protestants: which when the Mareschall *Dauill* vnderstood, hee beganne to drawe neerer to those of the resoured Religion then hee was accustomed to doo, and finding many discontented pollitikes readie to ioyne with him, resolved from that time forwarde to follow the matter with more earnestnesse, and to further their cause all that euer hee might.

The Prince of Bourbon accompanied with many of the Nobilitie of both Regions, beeing at *Heppenheim* in *Germanie*, and seriously busied in gaathering of forces to enter *France* for the releefe of his associats, was enformed of all the Proceedings, as well of the Protestants as of the Mareschall *Dauill*, and the rest of the discontented pollitikes, and vnderstanding that he was chosen generall ouer both sorts, accepted thereof, promising to employ all his credit, power, and authoritie to maintaine them against all their enemies, vnder the obedience of *Henry the third* of that name, King of *Poland* and of *France*. Which when the Queene mother vnderstood, shee thought it best to offer a treatie of peace, and to holde all sorts in quietnesse, vntill the comming of her Sonne out of *Polonia*, whose presence shee supposed would bee a sufficient weapon to fight against all these practises and deuises. Hereupon shee wrote letters to the Confederates, and especially to the *Rochelors*, to mooue them to embrase this negociation of peace, whereby they themselves might live in greater securite, and the whole Lande bee freed from ciuill and intestines warres.

*The Queen mother most
wishes a peace.*

They returned a dutifull answeare, desiring her maiestie to deal with the Prince of *Conde*, who was elected the cheife of the reformed Churches, and to whome vnder the Kings obedience they hadde submitted themselues: and in the meane while furnished their Cities with all necessaries for theyr better saftey. With which answeare the Queen mother beeing nothing well pleased, sent the Duke *Montpencier* into *Poitou* with very great forces, who having taken *Maraus*, *Noille*, *Noue*, *Charante*, and diuers other strong places, planted his siege before *Fontenay*, a Towne of very great importance, which in the ende hee tooke by composition, and so gained all base *Poitou*, to the exceeding prejudice of the Confederates. Hee likewise besieged *Lusignan*, which beeing valiantly defended by the Lord of *Fontenay*, held out for a long time, yet yeeded at the last vpon reasonable conditions, after it had

beene

beene besieged three moneths and twelue daies, hauing lost some three and
twentie Gentlemen, and two hundred common souldiers: the Catholikes spent
seauen or eight thousande cannon shot, and left some eight hundred of their
men dead before the Towne, to make satisfaction to the inhabitants. The
Towers and the Bulwarks were ouerthrowne, and the walles dismantled:
and so in a short time one of the most beautifull and strongest holdes in Eu-
rope was vtterly rased, and remained as a perpetuall monument of the Princes
hearie indignation and displeasure.

The king of Polonia being aduertised of his brothers death by letters from the
Queene mother, and that he was now become heire to the Crowne of France,
albeit he was quietly established, and a king ouer a mighty kingdome, which
was euerie way both very profitable and honourable vnto him, yet (as the na-
ture of all men is, to loue their owne naturall countrey more then another)
hee presently resolued to returnde home againe, and as shortly as might be, to
beholde the goodly and pleasant fieldes of the *Flower de Lys*: but the great loue
and reuerence which the Polonians bare vnto him, (who hauing vnderstood
that the disease wherewith his brother Charles was afflicted was incurable,
Polonia) made them watch ouer him with so vigilant an eye, and to obserue him
so narrowly, that it caused him to doubt what course he shoule take to escape
their hands: and beeinge (indeede) induced by sundrie strong presumptions,
to think that they would in no wise condiscend to his departure, & that it were
but lost labor, yea, peraduenture much harme to acquaint them with his inten-
tioned voyage, determined to accomplish his purpose as closely and as secretly as
he might, and to leauue them his reasons in writing, of so sodaine and hasty de-
parture. Wherefore hauing disposed of all things which were requisite for the
furtherance of this project, he first publikely dismissed *Bellieme* the French
Emassador, sending him home as one who seeing his maister was dead, was
nowe to be discharged of his office, and with him hee sent the choysest Gen-
tlemen about him, and the cheefest and principall Jewels that hee had. This
being done, hee made an exceeding sumptuous banker to all the great Poloni-
an Lords, and the Gentlemen in the Court, which beeinge finished, and euerie
man departed to his rest, the king himselfe went likewise to bed, as though he
had purposed to haue slept vntill the next morrow: but he had not rested long, *The king of*
but rising againe & putting on disguised apparel, he passed through the watch *Polonia fleas*
with *Halde* one of the Gentlemen of his chamber, and mounted vpon his horse *left away in*
which was readie for that purpose, and posted away from *Traconia* with all *to France*.
speede, and shortly arriued in *Austria* without any let, notwithstanding all the
extreme pursuite made by the Count *Christophe*, the Count *Tamy*, and many o-
ther Polonian Lords, and comming to *Vienna* was royally receiued of the Em-
perour, by whom hee was conducted to the territories of the Venerians, who
likewise entertained him in most honourable and magnificent manner, and so
passing by *Padua*, *Ferrara*, and *Cremona*, entred into *Piemont*, and so into *France*, *The begins*
where hee was no sooner come but he found all the countrey full of troubles, *wring of the*
tumults, and dissentions, and almost no corner free from cruell and bloudie *safcinill*
warres.

The Mareſchall Dauill and his deſignes.

The Mareſchall Dauill beganneto firre coales in *Languedocke*, and daily to enterprise vpon the Catholikes, and to aduance the affaires of the Prince of Conde and his associats, all that euer hee might. The king finding ſuch troubles in every corner of the Land, ſeemed to bee very ſorrie, and lought by all meaneſ to eſtablish a peace, and to that ende wrotero to the Prince of Conde and the Mareſchall Dauill, who were the principall men among the Confederates, that they ſhoule ſignifie vnto him the cauſes of their dicontentment, and then he would (as their king and loueraigne) ſee them ſatisfied ſo farre foorth as might ſtand with equitie and iuſtice: whereupon both the Prince and the Mareſchall ſent their deputies vnto the king and Queene mother, by whome their maiesties were certified of all their greeves and doleances, and the reaſons that mooued them to take Armes, which was (ſaide they) to defende their religion, their liues, and liberties, and to maintaine themſelues both againſt their owne enemys, and the ſworne aduersaries to the Crowne of France, who beeing but strangers, ruled all at their pleasure, offering the greatest wrong and indignitie that might bee, and that vnto the Princes of the bloud, and cloaking their actions with a colourable ſhewe of Religion, ſet the whole Lande in a combustion intending indeede the vitter desolation thereof, vntleſſe they were ſpeedily preuented, and ſome good courſe taken to ſtop theyr turbulent proceedings.

The King in ſenſe to warres by the perſuaſions of his counſell,

The king ſeemed to giue them a fauourable hearing, as one willing to make a pacification among his ſubiects, whom hee would haue to liue in loue and amitie one with another vnder his obedience: but by reaſon there were certaine articles propounded by the confederates, which could not on the ſodaine be agreed vpon, the peace was deferred, and the warres continued, wherupon there were newe associations and leagues, and both parties ſtood resoluteley bent to annoy one another as much as might bee. Those of the Religion were animated by the comfortable letters of the Prince of Conde, who promised the ſpedie aide and affiſtance, & hauing recovered Saint Jean D'Angely, with ſundrie other places of very good importance, they gathered ſome five hundred piftoliers, and a thouſand two hundred harquebuziers, led by the valiant *La Roche*, wherewith they ſtopped the roadeſ of their enemys, who hadde a long while harried and wasted the Countrey without pittie or mercy.

The king as it ſeemed, was of himſelfe very inclinable to peace, and in a ſort contented that the protestants ſhould freely enioy their conſciences, and haue publike places allowed them for their preachings: but hee had no ſooner entertained the councellers of the late king *Charles*, but that hee was foorthwith eaſt in a newe mould: for albeit hee were very earnestly ſollicited by the Embaſſadours of the Queene of England, the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Switzers, to yeeld to ſome good agreement with his ſubiects, yet would hee not be drawen thither with all the perſuaſions that could be uſed, but ſtill maintained the warres, and in all hoſtill manner invaded thoſe of the reformed Religion, perſecuting them with fire and ſword, with a full purpose to bring them to vitter ruine and desolation: and being aduertised of the great leauy of Reiuſters which the Prince of Conde made in *Germany*, which amounted to the number of ſeven thouſand and five hundred horſe, and three thouſand footmen, vnder the leading

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ding of the Duke John Cassimir, sonne to the Elector Palatin, had sent Mar-
shall Biran into Lorraine towards the frontiers, to stoppe their passage, and
to attend the comming of the Duke of Guise, who was mustering of men,
and gathering of forces, and that very busily for the same purpose.

Duke Cassi-
mer comes
meth to ayde
the Protes-
tants.

As the king was thus desising how hee might best withstand the Resistre
new troubles ensued, and a maruailous likelihood of greater and more dan-
gerous stirres then at any time before, if they were not wisely and speedily pre-
vented: for the Duke of Alençon, the kings onely brother and the second per-
son of France, sodainely departed from the Court, and went to Dyrme, beeing
highly discontented with his straight keeping, which he accounted no better
then an imprisonment: to whom ther daily repayred great numbers of the no-
bility and gentlemen, both Papists and Protestants, and there openly shewed
himselfe a fauourer of the Confederates. The king of Navarre whiche had like-
wise beeene shut vp for three yeeres, hauing libertie on a time to go to hunt in
the Forrest of Saint Germain in Ley, accompanied with the Duke of Espernon and
many other Lords and gentlemen, so persuaded with them that they were not
onely willing to suffer him to go whether hee would, but many offering their
seruice to bring him on the way, neuer left him vntill he came to Sancerre, where
he continued not long but hee grew so that strengtb, that he cared little or no-
thing for his enemies. These two vncpected accidents did maruailously
stonish the Court, and made the wised of them well neare at their wits endes:
But the Queene mother, who earnestly desired to keepe some good agreement
betweene her children, accompanied with some of the Princes of the bloud, the
principall officers of the Crowne, and the two Marshalls of France, Mornanoy
and Coss, whowere now deliuered out of prison, went with all spedee to-
ward Monsieur, and never left him vntill she had first made a truce for nine mon-
thens, and afterward shauing granted ynto him the Dukedomes of Berry, Tou-
raine, and Anjou, for his better maintenance, besides many other things done in
fauour of the Protestants, the warres ceased, and a generall peace was pro-
claimed thorowout the land: which the Protestants hoped would be moe per-
manent then any other of former times, for that it was granted by the king, who
as yet had not violated his promise, and therefore they had no cause to doubt
of him, especially considering that as one exempting himselfe from being cul-
pable of the breach of the former pacification, he commanded that this should
be termed by the name of his Peace, and therefore in all likelihood meant to
have it duly kept and obserued.

The Queene
mother re-
conciles her
children.

The end of
the fiftie civil
warrs.

C H A P. XX. *The ambition of the Guyses. The house of Valois and Bourbon condaunted at Rome. Monsieur forsakes the Protestants. The beginning of the sixtēen warrs.*



I then thou maist perceiue (gentle Reader) a maruailous
strange alteration, and as it were a continual vicissitude in
these French affaires. The originall and progresse, with the
variable effect and incredible accidents, occasioned through
the comming of these wofull civill warres, are as I were
in

insightfull, very lively represented before thy eyes. The due consideration whereof, will must needs make euerie one in whom remayneth any piety to tremble at the secret judgments of the almighty, and to bee moued with a fellow feeling and commiseration of the woulfe estate of our afflited brethren in forraigne Countreyes: so ought it to work an exceeding rejoycing, loynd with most humble thanks, in the hearts of those, who enjoy a quiet estate and blessed peace, vnder a most gracious and mercifull prince, with a continuall invocation vnto him who is the givere of so rich a treasure, not onely to poure downe (and that in most plentifull maner) such graces as are requisite for the beautifying and garnishing of so high a matierie; but also to arm her with such Religious, wise and peaceable Counsellors: as abhorre a covetous humour, wherewith many haue beeene possesseid for the enriching of them selfes, and deceipting an ambitious and aspiring minde (a vice oftentimes bur too much inherent in the natures of great personages) as are zealouslie adiect to the scaling tooth of Gods glorie, the seruice of his loueraigne, and the peace and prosperitee of the Commonwealth. The want whereof, as it hath euengore beeene the bane of many most flourishing nations, so hath it been the principall motiue of such lamentable desolation as hath spread it selfe, and that in most outragious maner, ouer the face of that noble Kingdome of *France*: where, albeit this some of the latter Kings haue not beeene so vertuously disposed as were to bee wished: which notwithstanding may peraduenture in some sort bee excused in regard of their mynorkie and want of good education: by meanes wherof they haue the more easilly beeene endued to gaine their aduantage to many most wicked and vngodly proceedings: yet is it out of question, that the greatest mysterie which haue there fallen out, haue beeene hatched and brought foorth by the detestable and pestiferous practises of sundrie Counsellors, who through the benefit of their good fortune and fauour of their Princes, haue attained vno great places, and had the managing of the whole state, as I lette say a bus. bolesa 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 469. 470. 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The prophet
of King
Francis.

King Francis the first of that name in laying off that they would not have children into their doublets, and his subjects into their shirts: yet such was the careless security of the offspring of his prudent Prince, that they would not take heed unto such a pinching header, but by giving them countenance and authority. It have mightily appareil their countrey royal dignitie, and made them the followers of this sharpe and bitter punishment his sonnes old age v. Now Renois Duke of Guyse, filled by the counselle of that crafty and subtle
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associate *Charles* his brother, Cardinall of *Lorraine*, had long sincelayde the plot, and cast in his minde how to effect this diabolicall device, and to that ende had set all *Fraunce* in a combustion by sowing division betwene the King and the Princes of the blood, and incensing the soueraigne agaynt his most obedient and dutifull subiectes. And being growne verie gracious among the French, by reason of his fortunate successe in the warres, caused it to bee secretly spredde abroade among the people, that hee was descended from *Charles maine*, and therefore had some right and title to the Crowne of *Fraunce*. And as though hee meant one day to put in his clayme, had so ordered the matter, that great numbers of the Nobilitie, and sundrie of the principall Citties of the lande, were wholie at his deuotion: but hee was cutte off in the middest of his hope (as is alreadie sayde) before *Orleaunce*, and all his deuices came to naught, sauing that he left behind him a sonne, as hautie, as aspiring, and as ambitious as euer was the father, and one that attempted greater matters then euer did any of that line.

This man beeing growne into great credite with *Charles the ninth*, and likewise with *Henrie the thirde*, so aduaunced himselfe by their fauours, that he gave the lawe to *Fraunce*, and did every thing as he lysted. And practising thoserules which his father and vncle had left him, was euermore devising howe to trouble the state, and to holde the King at continuall strife with his subiects, as the readyest and speedyest way to compasse that, which that factious and turbulent house had so greedily gaped after for these many yeares. VVhereupon hee pondering with himselfe, that if this late reconciliation which was made betwene the King and his subiects, shoulde continue, that the King of *Nassarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, with their adherents and associates, would quickly growe mightie, and so with theyr power and authoritie, easily ouerthrowe all his councelles, and that in such sort, as hee shoulde never bee able to accomplish and fulfill his intended purpose, thought it best and most expedient for his aduantages, to beginne newe broyles and sturres, and with a sixt ciuill warre to bring *Fraunce* againe into a *Chaos* and confusion.

1575

The better to effect this, and to lay as sure a foundation as might bee for so badde a buylding, it was devised, that the Bishop of *Paris*, and a certayne Aduocate called *David*, as craftie, as wilie, and as wicked a fellowe as a nyued in those dayes, shoulde bee sent to *Rome*, to haue the direction of the Pope, and his Cardinalles, howe it were best to beginne, and afterwards most circumspectlie to proceede and go forwardes in so hautie and weightie an enterprise.

There were many bitter complaints, and sharpe accusations framed agaynst *Henrie the third* the French King, against *Monsieur* his brother, the king of *Nassarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, against the race of the *Valois*, the *Barbons*, all the princes of the blood, and the auncient Nobilitie of *Fraunce*: they were all either heretikes, or fauourers of heretikes, and by their late pacification, intended the vter subuersion of the holie Church of *Rome*. There it was shewed, to make the King and all his Princes the more odious, howe the house of *Cape*, had always withstood the Bishoppes of *Rome*, and had in olde time maintained

The Bishop of Paris & the aduocate David sent to Rome,

Accusations against the houses of Valois and Barbon.

the *Valdensis* and *Albigeons*, and nowe were either *Hugonots*, or else great fauourers and abettors of them. But on the contrarie, that the house and lynage of *Charlemaine*, (which was wrongfully dispossessed of the Crowne) had a speciall grace giuen them by the Papall benediction, to support and helpe the Church, and that yet there were some of that offspring left, and those stoure maintainers of the Papall dignitie (meaning those of *Guise*) and such as had alwayes like notable Champions valiauntlie defended the Romaine sayth; and therefore it was expedient, nay most necessarie for the preferuacion of the Catholike Religion, to roote out the houses of *Valois*; and *Burbon*; and to restore the offspring of *Charlemaine*, which was endewed with all excellent vertues, and throughly furnished with most notable gifts, requisite for the execution of all commendable, and honourable attempts.

*The Councel
holde[n] at
Rome for the
rooting out
of the blood
Royal of
France,*

And for the more speedie accomplishment hereof, it was resolued, that the *Guyses* with their partakers should procure newe commotions in the lande, and nourish the warres by all possible meanes that might bee. That they should league the Nobilitie by oath to persecute the Gospel, and to choose for their heade and principall of their league, *Henrie Duke of Guise*, whom the King shoulde bee counsayled to let alone, and suffer him to proceede as he liked best, seeing he was a man of that iudgement, that knewe well enough what hee had to doo. The Queene mother likewise shoulde bee sent to perswade *Mansieur* her sonne to be at the assembly of the States, which should bee holden at *Blois*. Whither the king shoulde solicite the king of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde* to come, by all the faire wordes that could be devised. And in the meane while there should be sundrie cunning fellowes, and such as were most devoted to the league, sent abroad into the seuerall prouinces, who should secretly labour, that such Deputies might be chosen, as would further the designements of the Leaguers all that might be. During which priuie practises, the Friers and Jesuites shall incense the people against the *Hugonots*, by their seditious Sermōs. The priests in their parish churches shal secretly take the names of all the able men for the warres, and in their shrivings, shall charge them to prouide them of all such weapons as shalbe appoynted them by their captaines. The States shal sweare to obserue and obey whatsoeuer shalbe concluded. And if *Mansieur*, the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Conde*, and the rest of the princes of the blood, do not appeare at the said assembly, they shall be condemned as rebels, and likewise all other that shal anyway oppose themselves against the proceedings of the said States, who shal sweare their obedience to the Sea of *Rome*, and to obserue the Councell of *Trent*: and withall a request shall be made to the king, that if any man shall resist and refuse to give his allowance thereto, that he shall appoynt the Duke of *Guise* his generall, and give him authoritie to pursue him to the death: who having so great forces, shall cause them to be in a readynesse to march towarde *Blois*, alsoone as the assembly of the states is begun. All things being thus contrived, there shall be certaine commissioners chosen, to enquier of the life and deedes of *Mansieur*, and certaine judges appoynted to condemn hym, for ioyning hymselfe with the Heretiques, and to his protesse that bedrawene forthwith after the godly example of the king of *Spain*, who put to death *Charles of Anstrich* his naturall sonne.

As soone as Monsieur is condemned, then shall the forces march to strengthen the execution, and shall set vpon all the Hugonots, and put as many of them to the iworde as they can come by : and the Duke of Guise beeing so strongly appoynted, shall seyze vpon the persons of the King and Queene mother, and by the permission of the Iea Apostolike shall put them into some monasterie, as Peppin dealt with Childebert. And by this meanes the Crowne shall bee set vpon his head, and so returne to the blessed stocke of Charlemaine, and he and his successors from thenceforth shall haue their kingdome of the Bishop of Rome, and shall abolish the prerogatiues of the French Church.

Whilst these things were a working at Rome, the Guises with their adherents sought by all possible meanes to breake the peace in France, and by grievous oppressions and wrongs, to force those of the reformed religion, to pur themselves in arms to withstand so iniurious proceedings. And albeit they were but too forward to blow the belloues of sedition before : yet now vpon the returne of Dauid from Rome, they went earely forward, and with great earnestnesse endeavored to put those rules in practise, which came from their holy father. There were leagues and associations made, and those as strong as could be devised. The states were summoned, and by the collusion of the King, none admitted to be at that assembly, but such as were vtter enemies to the Gospel. Monsieur, by the earnest intreatie of the Queene mother, was brought to the Court, and hauing made his benefite of the fauor of the Protestants, left them when they had most need of him, and associated himself with their sworne enemies.

The King likewise beganne to interpret his Edict after a straunge maner, and farre otherwise then was expected by the confederates. Some articles were strained, and racked out to the vitermost, and other some snipped and cuttailed, that they seemed metamorphosed, and changed into a new nature, as farre differing from their former, as might be imagined. Many infamous libels were printed, contayning most villainous matter agaynst the Protestants : and a rumour was spread abroade, that they had surprised sundrie Townes and fortis in Poictou, Languedocke, Guyen, Xantaigne, and Dauphine, and therefore that it was impossible to holde in the Catholiques anie longer, who with so manifold iniuries (saide they) were mighty incensed agaynst those of the reformed Churches.

Those of the Religion were exceedingly troubled with this strange kind of dealing, and knowing that it proceeded of a mortall hatred, and that it did evidently argue, that there was a secrete purpose to catch them at aduaantage, and then to make hauocke of them, and to roote them and their Religion out of Fraunce, they beganneto looke about them, and to prouide for their owne securitie, especiallie considering howe the Catholiques were leagued together, and were readie (as it were at an instant) to inuade them on all sides.

VVhereupon seeing that Monsieur after hee had gotten the Dukedom of Berrie, Touraine, and Aniou, (as is alreadiesayd) had forsaken them, and left them at sixe and seuen, the King of Navarre was chosen chiefe of the Confederates, and the Prince of Conde seyzed vpon Bourg, Marennes, and other Islandes, beeing places of great importaunce, and verie auailable for the aduaancement of the Protestant affayres. Thus the peace hauing

1577

Monsieur
forsoke is the
Protestants,
and goeth to
the Court.

1578

The begin-
ning of the
sixt civil
warre. M. A.

endured but a small time, the sixt ciuill wardenes immediately, vpon the report that it was concluded by King in the assembly of the states, that there should be no other, but the Romane Catolike religion, tollerated within all his territories and dominions: for then began the warres to be open on all sides. The Catholikes seyed vpon *Du Pont, S: Esprit, Merlin, Tallemont, Bourdeaux*, and as manie other townes as they could get. The Protestants surprised *Pons, Royan, Reole*, and *Cinray*, and making a counterleague among themselues, couragiously withstood the attempts of their enemies: and foreseeing the storme tempest, which threatened the ship of their safetie, likewise Pilots, and skilfull Mariners, they stoutly stood to their tacklings, endeouuring by all possible meanes to save their beaten bark from drowning, and to bring it to some safe port, and quiet harbore.

Each side alledged sundrie reasons for the iustification of their actions: the Catholikes layd all the blame vpon the Protestants: saying, that they were men that would not be satisfied with any indifferent fauor: but expyng their aduantage, had forced the King to yeeld to vnreasonable conditions. Besides, that the Edict was but prouisionall; and might be disanulled at the Kings pleasure: and that it was now determined by the Estates generall, that no other then the Roman religion should be tollerated within all the French Dominions. The Protestants alledged, that they were murthered and killed in euerie corner, and no punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors. That the Catholikes did dayly breake the Kings Edict, which had beeene made by the consent of all the noble personages of the land, who had solemnely sworne the obseruation thereof: and that if such Edicts were accounted prouisionall, who would repose any trust hereafter in the Kings worde and promise, seeing he helde it lawfull to breake his oath when hee listed. And as concerning the estates generall, they sayd, they were not lawfully assembled, and therefore they protested of the nullite of them, and of whatsoeuer thing they concluded. These and manie such reasons were obiectet on both sides: and they had not long contended in wordes, but they fell to blowes, and each endamaged other all that euer they might.

The Duke de Maine general of the Catholikes. *Both the King of Navare, and Prince of Conde, withdrew themselves to Rochell, and hauing gotten some 3000. footmen, and 400. horse, they dayly enterprised vpon their enemies. The D. de Maine, accompanied with *Puygallard, Ruffe, Roches, Baritand*, and many others, to the number of seuen hundred horse, besides a strong power of footemen, did continuallie vexe and molest the Protestants, by spoylng their fieldes, and burning theyr houses: and beeing masters of the Champaigne, couped in the Confederates verie narrowly, and hauing all things in a readinesse, planted their siege before *La Charitie*, which in the ende they gayned. Yea Rochell it selfe began in a maner to bee besieged, enduring maruaylous losses by the continuall roades of the Catholikes, who wasted all without pittie or mercie.*

La Charite. The protestants course of the Duke de Maine. *The Protestants being so hardly vsed, offered the like measure, wherethay preuyaled, dealing verie rigourously with such as fell into their handes. The Duke de Maine following his good fortune, tooke *Tonnay Charentie*, and *Rocheford*, which yeelded vnto him vpon the first summance: and so farre hee preuyaled,*

uyaled that he made himselfe Lorde of all the Riuier of *Charente*, in lesse then ffe dayes : and vsing great expedition, got *Marans* from the Rochellers, who were sore grieved with the losse of a place of so great importance.

Now, as the nature of most men is, to bande with the stronger, and euer more to iudge of the end, according to the beginning : so many at this time began to slippe their neckes out of the Coller, and to runne to the Catholikes, supposing that it was impossible for the Confederates to holde out for anie long time. For besides that they were ouermatched by lande, they were likewise hardly handled at sea, and had much adoo to keepe the Isle of *Re*, and *Chefde Bay*, from *Lansac*, who was Admirall ouer the nauie Catholique. But at last *Lansac* leas they rigging foorth certaine shippes, commaunded by *Clerement of Anbeis*, ten at seaby so scoured the coast, that no enemie for the time durst appeare in sight of theyr warlike Fleete, wherewith they were maruellously well recomforted. But their ioy lasted not long : for the Duke de *Maine* approaching *Brouage*, so furiously assayled it, that *Mandevir*, who was gouernour of the Towne, was forced to yeelde vpon composition, being destitute of all necessaries requisite, to withstand so great a puyslaunce. By this time also, *Lansac* hauing repayred his beaten Fleete, put foorth to sea afresh, and meeting with the Confederates valiantly set vpon them, and putting them to the woorse, burnt their Admirall called the *Prince*, and tooke an other vessell called the *Floressante*, to the exceeding greefe of the Protestants, who had repos'd no small confidence in their sea forces.

Besides all these infortunate chaunces, there fell out an other crosse, which did verie much grieue and disquiet the Rochellers, and that was the death of *The death of Bobinean*: who for that he was accounted a wise, valiant, and politique man, one who of all others did wonderfully affect the good of his countrey, and tendered the welfare of all in general, was maruellously lamented of all sortes, and especially of the Rochellers, who in a sort were amazed with his death, and as men astonished with so manie crosses, had fainted vnder their burthen, had they not beene recomforted with a sudden report of a newe pacification, which was earnestly sollicited by the Duke *Montpencier*. Wherto the king was the more inclinable, both for that there was a mighty power of *Germaines* ready to enter *Fraunce*, and also for that he wanted money to maintaine so great charges. Whereupon the Queene mother was employed to make the composition with the king of *Navarre*, & the rest of the Protestants: which after much running vp and downe, was agreed vpon by both parties, and proclaimed with great ioy and triumph, both at *Rochelle* and other places, in token of the earnest desire they had to liue at ease, and to spend the remnant of their dayes in rest and quietnesse.

C H A P. XXI.

The death of Monsieur. The seditions and treacherous practises of the Guisards. The beginning of the seventh ciuill warre, called the leaguers warre. The Prince of Conde goeth toward Angiers. His great distresse and admirable detinerie.

1582



He *Guyses* and the rest of the confederates, perceiving howe the King, with great numbers of his nobles, and cōmon subiects began to take some delight in peace, and that there was an intention to reforme many abuscs, which were crept into the state in the time of the ciuill warres: to restore the nobilitie to their auncient dignitie, and to vnburthen the people of sundry charges, wherwith for a long while they had bin grieuously oppressed, were inwardly vexed at the hart, to consider that their former counsell stooke no better effect, and therfore they fel in hand with new practises, and those more pernicious, pestilent, and more dangerous then any others that euer they attempted before. For they considering that the cōdemnation & execution of *Monsieur* the kings brother could not so easily be brought to passe as they desired, and that the king of *Navarre*, and prince of *Conde*, did so prudently prouide for their own security, that it was a very hard thing to entrapp them, & bring their persons within danger, thought it best to go secretly to work, and by some priuy means to work their ruine & ouerthrow, against whom they could not prevail by open force and violence. They therfore hired *Salcedo*, a Spaniard to kil *Monsieur*, and promised him 6000 crowns for his labor: but he failing of his purpose, they procured a certain Gentlewoman, with whom his excellencie was but too familiarly acquainted, to give him such a receipt, as neuer left working, till it had wrought the life out of his body: so that he died the 10. of July, 1582 to the great reioising of the *Guyses*, who now beganto triumph to see so fortunat successe and happy aduancement of their affaires. And considering that by the death of this great prince, whō they feared more then the King, their side was maruellously strengthened, they began to stir coles afresh, and sought by all meanes to fill the land full of new broiles and hurli-burlies. And the time fast approaching, which was appointed for the bringing forth of that monster, wherewith they had traualied for a long time, they had many secret conferences with the duke of *Parma*, *Bernardine Mendoza* the Spanish ambassador, and *Giovan Bardach no*, the King of Spaine his Corriero. There was the bargain madero sell *Marseilles*, *Burdeaux*, and the Dukedom of *Britaine*, to the King of Spaine their maister, & an appointed time made, that the Duke of *Sauoy* should inuade the Marquisate of *Saluces*, thereby to occupie the King, and to disperse his forces into diuersc and sundrie places. And beeing strongly supported by the fauors of many of the Nobilitie, and sundry of the chiefe Cities, they first required that the Edict of pacification should be revoked, that the K of *Navarre*, & prince of *Conde*, with all those who made profencion of the gospel, shuld be exiled the realm, or else forced to abiure their religion, & that continual war should be denouiced against the protestants.

The King was aduertised of all these treacherous practises, as well from

*Salcedo a
Spaniard his
red to kill
Monsieur.*

*Monsieur
thought to be
personed.
His death.*

*The conspi-
racie of the
Guise, and
the rest of the
leaders.*

from sundrie the Princes of *Germany*, as also from the King of *Nauarre*: but hee would not beleue any thing, but tooke them to be but slanderous reports, raised vp by the Hugonots, and therefore lightly regarded them: but still countenanced the Guyses and their adherents, who hauing gotten the King to ioyne with them, & to yeeld to their requests, they hired the Monks and Friers to stir vp the people to their seditious ceremonies, shriuings and priuate conferences, to bande with them and the rest of the Leagues, and to persecute those of the Religion with fire and sword, and to roote them and theirs out of the territories of *France*.

They caused sundrie infamous Libels to be spread abroad, and gaue out that the king of *Nauarre* and the Protestant Princes had sworne to roote out the Catholike faith, and to deprive them of the Romish Church of all honour, dignitie and authoritie: that the murther at *Paris* should be revenged, and that three of the principall Burgesses of euerie Citie and towne, should be put to death in reuenge of the saide murther. These with many other notorious vntruths were openly declared in their pulpets wherewith the common sort were mightily enraged against the Protestants, and desired nothing more then their vicer subuersion and ouerthrow. The Guyses hauing likewise obtained good store of Spanish pistolets, corrupted divers great perlonages, and had hired sundrie Captaines to take their parts. Hauing laide this foundation, and prouided all necessaries that could be deuised for the rest of their building, about the fourth of March, 1585. they brake foorth and shewed themselves openly, seiising vpon sundrie the kings Townes, Cities, and fortresses, supposing (indeede) that the rest would ioyne with them and take their parts: but things falling out contrarie to their expectation, they were forced to plucke in their heads for a while, and to attend some better oportunitie: and that so much the rather for that the K. the better sort of the Nobilitie, and the courts of Parliament, opposed themselves against their proceedings, declaring them Rebels, and willing all the gouernours of Townes and prouinces to apprehende them, and to see them punished as seditious persons, and perturbers of the State.

This audacious action seemed very odious in the eyes of many: which the Guyses perciuing, they drew in the Cardinall of *Burbon* by sundrie fine deuises, to ioyn with them, whose credit and countenance serued their turnes in many great attempts. And because sundrie of the Kings Councillers were either the Guyses creatures, or by some one way or other devoted vnto them, the king was neuer duly enformed of the danger of the League: for they told him that it was nothing but an inconsiderate zeale of some few, who fearing the innovation of Religion, were growne somewhat passionate, and sought for nothing indeed but to maintain the people in their obedience to the holy church, who if hee should but once frowne vppon them, they would all come and fal downe at his maiesties feete, and vow their goods, their liues, and whatsoeuer meanes they had to doo his maiestie service, and therefore hee neede not feare them who were so good and devout Catholikes, but rather had cause to animate them in their Religious proceedings, considering that they opposed themselves against none but such as were termed Hugonots, the kings sworne enemies, and such as had beeene the occasion of all those miseries which had continued

*The sedition
of the Guyses*

*The beginning
of the
seauen
years
warres,
called the
wars of the
Leagues.
1585.*

*The king bes
rayed by his
Councill.*

continued in *France* for so many yeeres.

The King was brought into such a securitie of his estate by this wicked Councell, that he did not onely reiect such aduertisements as were sent to him from time to time, both from the King of *Navarre*, Duke *Cassimer*, and other Princes, touching the monstrous conspiration of the Leaguers: but also as one that knew not what hee did, hee made great preparation against them of the reformed Religion, and suffered the Leaguers in the meane time to grow and fortifie themselves at their owne pleasures, vntill they were become so mighty, that they thought themselves able inough, if neede were, to go through with theyr intended course, whosoeuer shoulde say nay. Which was no sooner effected, but that they sette the Kings Councillers on the sodaine to ensouyme the king of the great power and puissance of the Leaguers: howe that quite besides their expectations there was an vniuersall consent of all his good subiects, to restore the Catholike Religion, that great numbers of his Nobilitie and cheefest Cities highly commended the zeale of the Leaguers, and were resolued in theyr defence: and therfore that it were good for the king, considering the time, not to make any resemblance to call any of them to account for any of theyr actions, least he shoulde give some suspicion that hee was a fauorite of the heretikes, which might breed a grudging in the hearts of his people, wherby some commotions might rise to the imminent perill of his roiall person, and the extreme danger of the whole state.

*The King makes
peace with
the Leaguers.*

The king beeing marueilous amased with these and such like remonstrations, thought it best to make peace with them, and to countenance them as his best subiects. They were glad that they had brought him to that passe: and now seeing they had found him so submisse, they meant to make further tryall of his courtesie, and therupon they required that all their former actions might be ratified by the kings authoritie, as good and lawfull, and done for his seruice, and that whatsoeuer had passed in prejudice of the Leaguers, should be reuoked as wrongfull and vniust, and for that they sawe the king was willing to gratifie their smal requests, they were bold to proceed further, & to intreat him, that the Duke of *Guyse*, the Duke de *Maine*, the Duke of *Aumale*, the Cardinall of *Guyse*, the Lord *Brissac*, the Lord *Antraynes*, the Lord *Chastres*, and the rest of the principall Leaguers might haue the gouernement of sundrie the strongest places of the land, as of the Cittadell of *Metz*, the Castle of *Dijen*, *Rhemes*, the strongest holds of *Picardy*, *Orleans*, *Caen*, *Aniou*, *Bourges*, *Lyons*, and many others of like importance. They further perswaded with him to proclaime open warres against the Protestants, & to declare the king of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and all others who had beeene infected with heresie (as they termed it) to be for ever vncapable of any office in *France*, and that they shoulde packe out of the Countrey with all speede: and for the better countenancing of all theyr proceedings against these great States, they procured Pope *Sixtus* to excommunicate them, thereby to make them more odious with the people.

*The Leaguers require
to be made
governours of
the principall
holds in
France.*

As soone as they had gotten in a manner whatsoeuer they desired, and had made themselves as good maisters as the King, they with sundrie and most cunning deuises gayned great multitudes to joyn with them, and euerie man eyther for feare or for loue, was foorthwith at their will and command.

comande. They mustered great forces, and gathered mightie armies, to iuade the king of *Navarre* and the rest of the Protestants, whoseing themselves abandoned of their king, and exposed to the furie of their mercilesse enemies, stood vpon the defensiuie, and resisted the rage of the League as well as they could.

The Prince of *Conde* growing strong, determined to besiege *Brouage*, which was kept by the Lord *saint Lue* for the Leaguers: where, after hee had spent some time in gayning many of the principall forts, he departed towards *Angiers*, leauing al his footmen to continue the siege: and albeit the Prince vsed great expedition, labouuring with all speede to releue those who had taken the Castle of *Angiers*, yet could hee not come time inough, for by reason that Cap- taine *Rochmort*, who had surprised the saide Castle, was slaine with a shot out of the Towne as hee was leaning in his Chamber window, the Castle was rende red again vpon composition, & made sure for the League, as it was a fore time. The Prince beeing ignorant hereof, passed the *Loyre* with all his troupes, which were some eight hundred horse, and almost a thousand and two hundred har queuziers on horsebacke, conducted by the Lord of *Nemours*, *Lauall*, *Trimouille*, *Bonlay*, *Saint Gelais*, *Aubigny*, *Ouebes*, *Roban Tonche*, *Flesche*, and sundrie others. The Lord *Clermont* had likewise gathered a great companie of horse, and encamped himselfe with the Prince neere vnto *Angiers*. These companies approaching the Towne, expected some signall from the Castle, whereby they might understand that it still held for the king of *Navarre*: but they were certified that the saide Castle was yeelded the day before into the handes of their enemies, and therefore that it was lost labour to stey there any longer. Which newes grewe the Prince exceedingly, & made him with the rest of his coun cill, to fall to consultation, how they might safely get backe ouer the *Loyre*, and free themselves out of that danger which then appeared before their eies: and for that they knewe well inough that both the kings forces and the Leaguers were vp in all quarters, and hasted by all possible meanes to encounter them, they retyred towards the *Loyre* with a purpose to returne the same way they came. The Lord *Lauell* beeing the formost, got ouer without any danger: but before the comming of the Prince, all the passages were seised by the enemie, and the prince was aduertised by many messengers, that either hee must resolute to open his way by the sword, or else to hazard himselfe at al aduenture through the Countrey of *Beause*.

The Prince approaching the danger, and thinking that in either of these there was but hard choise, called a Councell: but by reason of the diuersitie of op- *distresse of*
tions it was long before any thing could be concluded: at length it was agreed *the Prince*
to passe through *Beause*. Then every man prepared himselfe towardes that de- *and the rest*
spere journey, and marching toward *Lude* in *Aniou*, purposed there to passe *of the Protes*
ouer the *Loyre* vpon the Bridge: but the Riuier was so risen, that there was no *stants that*
passage without imminent perill. From thence therefore they went to *Lude*, *him*,
and so to *Prilly*, *Vandeloyre*, & *S. Arnol*, where they heard newes that the Duke *were with*
of *Espenon* and the Mareschall *Biron* were at *Bonauall* in *Beause*, with great for-
ces, readie to fight with the dismayed multitude: that the Duke *De Mayne* was
on the other side of the *Loyre* neere vnto *Bloy*, readie to cut off such as shoul d
fortune

fortuneto passe that way, and that all the Countrey was full of strong garrisons attending with great deuotion to make a pray of the Prince, and that handfull of men which did accompanie him, so that it seemed the further they went the neerer they approached their destruction : and hauing with their long and laborious marches wearied themselues and tired their horses , they did viterly dispaire of any good successes. In this great agony they iourneyed on, and euerie day receiued more vncomfortable newes then other, wherewith many supposing that all was lost, secretly disbanded from the grosse of the Armie , and repaired to such friendes as they had in the Countrey.

The Prince and the rest of the Nobilitie were wonderfully perplexed, and knew not what course to take: at length they resolued to diuide themselues into severall companies, some going one way and some another: the Lord Rohan with many Gentlemen in his retinew, went towards Britaine, Saint Gelais went towards *Vaudesme*, the Prince, the Lords of *Trimouille* and *Auantonny* with some of their principall seruants , betooke them to their fortune as well as the rest, and hasted to get into some place of greater securitie. The laborious and tedious traualle of this noble Prince, his wearisome courses, his long Caualcados , his great and perilous dangers hee escaped before he ga to that Iland of *Gernsy*, would require a long discourse, & were sufficient for a whole volume. As soone as the cheefetaines were thus dispersed, the common souldiers were quickly scattered, some tooke their way towards *Orleance*, some towards *Normandy*, and some towards *Mayne*, and to bee short, euerie man went which way hee liked best, traualing in exceeding great feare, hauing as they imagined, neither meanes to escape nor force to resist, but were readie euerie minute to fall into the hands of those who did wholly pursue them , and thistled for nothing more then for their bloud : but when all hope failed, God did miraculously deliuere them, and so deliuered them in theyr iourneys, that hauing auoyded a million of morethen apparent perils, they all arrived at length at *Rochell*, and that much about one time , to the exceeding comfort of themselues, and the wonder of all France.

*The Prince
of Conde
with the
cheefest of
his troupes
arrived at
Rochell
much about
one time.*

C H A P. XXII.

*The cruell Edicts of the King against the Protestants. The number of the Popish Armies
which were oueribrowne in one yeare. The villanous dealing of the Guyle. The bataile
of Courras.*

*The Duke
de Maine
made cap-
taine gener-
ral over the
forces of the
Popish Cler-*

87



Hilf the Prince of Conde and the rest of his distressed Armie, made this hard shif for themselues, the Duke de Maine, whome the League had procured to be appointed generall by the Kings authoritie ouer a mightie power, maintained at the cost and charges of the Clergie of France, bestirreth himselfe , and seeketh to annoy the protestants as much as might bee: but by reason the Vicount of *Turin* opposed him selfe against his proceedings with an army of sixe thousand men, hee did no other harme but gat some fewe Townes which were of no great importance

The

The League not prospering so fast as they desired, by force of Armes, caused the king who was nowe sole ouer to worke his owne confusion and the vter ruine of his Realme and States, to make many cruell Edicts against those of the Religion ; notwithstanding all the pacifications and graunts of former times, and they were commanded to auoyde the Realme within fifteen dayes, otherwise there was libertie giuen to persecute them to death, to seise upon their goods, lands and linings, and to employ them to the kings vse.

The king of Navarre knowing that all this was doone by the procurement of the League and the Popish Clergie, seised likewise vpon all the Landes, and goods of such as were either Leaguers or fauourers of that factious and rebellious multitude. The severe proclamations made by the king against those of the Reformed Churches, wrought many lamentable effects in the Land. Some who made profession of the Gospel recanted, and turned to Poperie, and because they would not bee suspected of any dissimulation, they became earnest persecutors of their poore brethren. Others hid themselves in secret corners and liued most miserably and in great wants. Infinite numbers fled away, some into England, some into Germanie, others to Sedan, Geneva, and such places as were free from persecution. It was a most pittifull sight to beholde the dissipation of so many families, who were nowe turned foorth of the doores naked and comfortlesse, and forced to shift for themselves in strange Countreyes.

*The miseries
ble & state of
the persecus
ing Protes-
tants,*

The Duke de Maine did all this while what hee could to any the Protestants, and to gayne as many Citties and townes (through very secrecie) as hee could to ioynewith the League, and to make that faction strong against the King, by seducing his subiects vnder the colour of maintaining the Catholike Religion. Which beeing suspected by sundrie his followers, they disbanded themselves, and some for want of pay refused to serue any longer.

The Duke de Maine by reason of these vnxpected crosses, was not able to make head any longer, and therefore wrote to the Guyse his brother in what bad tarmes things stood, who fearing that if there were not new prouision, that his brother the Duke de Maine, would come shortly to ruyne, and bee vterly overthrowne, aduised the king to make fourre seuerall Armies, and *Fourre armes ap-* pointed to *inuade the* Protestants.

This pollicie was no sooner allowed as the best, but the Marechall Biron was appointed to go into *Kaintoigne*, the Duke Leyens into *Langudocke*, the Lord Feynse his sonne into *Auergne*, and the Duke of *Espenon* into *Provence*. *La Châtre* should be readie with a ficer e vpon the coast of *Britaine*, to enterprise as time and opportunitie serued.

The king of Navarre was foorthwith certified of this preparation, which made him fortifie such places as were of importance as strongly as hee coulde, and understanding that the Marechall Biron intended to besiege Broware, with a power of onethousand & two hundred horse & fourre thousand footmen, he did so carefully prouide for the defence therof, that after that Biron had bin long before

brought up

before the towne, and had done little or nothing, sauing that he was content to make a composition with the Protestants, hee brake vp his campe, and sent his companies, some into *Poitou*, and some into *Anjou* to refresh themselves, and thus was this Army dispersed without doing of any thing. Duke *Joyeuse* passed into *Languedocke*, where hee tooke *Lodere*, *Saint Pons*, *Marsiquin*, and *Narac*-*else*, and having committed infinite sorts of most horrible villanies and strange

*The armes
of the Popis
Leaguers o-
neriborne
in lesse then
one yeare.*

cruelties, after he had lost aboue thirtie of his best Capaines, and ffe hundred others at the least, before a palterie towne called *Saint Puels*, brake vp his army, and returned home in farre worse case then hee went sooth. The savage rudenenes of this rable made many of the Nobilitie, who before fauored the League, to forsake such an association, wherein there was nothing but robbing, spoyling, whooring, swearing, and blaspheming, and that after a most beastly and brutish manner: the yong *Joyeuse* following rather his pleasures then the wars, made his progresse throughout *Anuergna*, where hee did no other harme but spende and walte the Kings treasure: and when that was doone, retired to the Court to see if he could be trusted with any more. And thus were all these armes brought to confusione, vanishing away as a little smoke, notwithstanding all their great brags.

*The Queen
mother offes-
seth a party
of peace.*

The Leaguers considering that all these ffe Armies had spent great store of treasure, and all other warlike preparation, and yet had rather hindred then furthered their secret purposes (for by reason they sped no better they were forsaken of many, & growen into contempt with others) deuised with the Queene mother, whom they knew to fauour their designements, that shee shoulde offer a parley of peace: which shee did, and sent to vnderstand of the king of *Navarre*, if hee would hearken thereto, who tendering the good of his countrey refused not the motion: wherupon there was an interview betweene the Queene mother and the saide King at *Saint Brice*, the thirteenth of December, where there was much adoo, and many words spent to small purpose: for the Queene would not condicend to the excuse of the Religion, and the king of *Navarre* would make no peace; seeing that was the principall cause of bearing arms: howbeit in the end the Queene vnderstanding of the great leauie of Reisters that were comming to the ayde of the Protestants, and growing in suspition that the Dukes of *Guya* and *de Maine*, and the rest of the Leaguers would enterprise somewhat against the King, shee concluded a peace for three moneths, and so returned to the Court.

*1387
The Guyes
trecherous
dealing to
discredit the
King.*

The Duke of *Guya* intending to discredit the king with his subiects euer day more then other, sent abroade sundrie his supposts, and caused them to spread a rumor, how that the euill successe of all those armes which had bee ne employed against the Hugonots, was for that the king beeing led by wicked councell, would not permit that they should be sufficiently provided for with money, munition and other necessaries, that hee had intelligence with the heretikes, that hee had warre (indeed) in his mouth, but in his heart he meant nothing lesse, and that by such fraudulent dealing the good Catholikes were betrayed, and the heretikes encouraged, and that therefore there was no good to be doone so long as there was such packing and false play. The Domesticall enemie was first to bee overthrown, before the forraigne enemie could be vanquished.

quisched. These and such like sinister informations, were givens out among the multitude, by Friars, Priests, and *lesuites*, in their sermons, and manie busie headed fellowes were set a woorke to spreade these, and such like defamatorie speaches, with much vehemencie and earnestnesse, in Alehouses, Taverns, Markets, and all other places of greatest assembly. By reason of which slaunderous and bad reports, there grew much murmuring amongst the people, with no small dislike of the present government. The King notwithstanding (as a man bewitched with the decessfull dealing of his mother, and the treacherous practises of such counsellors, as he most fauoured) eyther vndeſtode nothing of all this, or else was forced to winke at it, as wanting leasure or meanes to ſift the matter more narrowly. For the rumour of the comming of the Germaines, the fortunate ſuccesse of the Lord *Diguères*, in *Dauphinie* and *Languedoc*, the counter-league of the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and a great number of verie Noble and honourable personages of the lande, with a full resolution to maintaine the reformed Religion, did ſo occupie his minde, that hee coulde not haue leasure to looke into the rebellious driftes of the Leaguers, who continuallie incensed the King agaynst the Hugonors, and after the conuulfion and ruine of all his former Armyes, perwaded him to assayle those of the Religion in *Guyen*, with newe forces, vnder the conducting and leading of Duke *Joyenſe*, for that it was thought, that the Mareschall *Biron* was of too milde a nature, and had dealt somewhat too fauorably in his late voyage.

Thus Duke *Joyenſe* being armed, with the Kings authoritie, and ayded with a *The Duke* mightie power, invaded *Guyen*, where he tooke sundrie towernes, as *Mortz*, *Saint Joyenſe*, *saint Cley*, *Saint Mexent*, *Tonray*, *Charanty*, *Maylezay*, and ſome others: but the plague *against the Protestants* encreasing among his ſouldiers, he was forced to breake vphis campe, and to diſperſe his forces, and hee himſelfe poſted to *Paris*, to the reſt of the principall Leaguers.

The King of *Navarre* understanding of his retreate, ſet vpon his ſtraggling troupes, killed many, tooke sundrie prisoners, and in a ſhort ſpace recouered all that had beeene lost. Thus the Leaguers had cauſed the King to ſpend much money about nougnt, intending thereby to weaken him, and strengthen themſelves: for by this meaneſ they were ſtill in authoritie, and did in a maner what ſoever they lifteſ, empowerning their enemies, and inriching their friends, as the readyeſt way to effect that, which they had long before determined to accomplish.

About this time were the Germaines readie to march towards France: where-
of the King being aduertised, he prepared three ſeverall Armies, with the which
The great preparation he meant both to defend himſelfe, and to offend his enemies. The dule of *Couſe* of the King
was made generall over the firſt, wherin were 23000 Frenchmen, beſides 4000 ſwift ſtroops
Launces, 2000 Italians, and ſixe hundred light horſe, ſent to him out of the
low Countryes by the Duke of *Parma*. All which were appointed to barre the
Germaines out of *Lorraine*, if it were poſſible, or elſe to hinder them, that they
ſhould not paſſe through *Champagne*. The King led the ſecond army into *Berry*,
wherin was 88 companies of men of Armes, ten thouſand French ſootemen,
12000 Switzers, 4000 Runners, 12 double Canōs, & 2000 pioners, with which
L. power

power the King determined to keepe the *Loyre*. The duke *Loyens* conducted the third army against the King of *Nassarre*, to keepe him occupied, and to withhold him from ioyning with the *Germaines*.

The battell
of *Contra*. The King of *Nauarre* gathered as great forces as he could, and being accompanied with the prince of *Conde*, Count *Seyssan*, the Lord *Trimouille*, the vicount of *Turen*, and many other honorable estates, hasted to incorporate himselfe with his strangers, & vling great speed gaue over the riuier of *Droune*, where the duke *Joyen* had intended to stop his passage, and so marched forwarde, purposing to lodge at *Contra*. The duke supposing that the aduaantage was his, for that the king of *Nauarre* was weake in power, & inclosed between two riuers, so that he could not escape without fighting: as one desirous to do some notable exploit, resolved to trie his fortune by some generall fight. Whereupon hee tooke his place for the battell neare vnto *Contra*. The King of *Nauarre* was glad of the Dukes resolution, and hauing disposed all his troupes in very warlike manner, wayted his best opportunitie to begin the battell. About eight of the clock in the morning the Armillarie on both sides began to play. And for that the king of *Nauarre* Ordinance was commodiously placed, it did maruellously endamage the Dukes men of armes, which stood at his right hand, as also the regiments wherewith they were flanked for their better assurance: wherewith when many were rent and torn in peces, the rest resolued rather to charge then to die so miserably without any further fight. The harquebuziers came no sooner in reach each of other, but they powred out their shot as thicke as haile, each partie endeouring to do well, and to annoy one another to their vitemost.

The king of Navarre had divided his horsemen into four squadrons: the first was led by himselfe, the second by the Prince of Condé, the third by the Count Sully, who stood on the left hand of the king, and the fourth by the vicount of Turenne, who was at his right hand, equally aduaunced with the foremost. These standing still, beheld the skirmish of their footmen, vntil the duke hasted to the generall onset: then these three Princes of the blood, euerie one in the front of their regiment, began to change their pace into a trot, and so into a gallop, givning such a furious charge vpon their enemies, that they wholy defeated them; and hauling killed a great number, the rest berooke them to flight. The footmen seeing their horsemen overthrowne, lost courage, and ranne away for

D. Joyense company: then wasthe mortalitie great: for the Protestans pursuing them, committēd a maruailous carnage among them that fled. There was slaine the Duke of Joyense, generall of the armie, and Saint Suer his brother, Bressay, Rousay, count Suer, Count Ganeo, Count Aubiron, Fumel, Rockford, Neufny, Gurats, Saint Fort, Tercelin, maister of the campe, Cheffner and Vallade, besides many other Lordes and Gentlemen of marke. Bellegard, Saint Lue, the Marques of Prennes, Count Moforeau, Sansac, Cipierre, Santry, Montigny, Yillecomblim, Chasteaurenault, Parriere Chasteauneulx, Chasteloux, and Auerdiere, all capitaines and commaunders were taken prisoners, Diuerse Castels and strong holdes were presently yeelded vnto the king of Navarre, and a verie great feare possessed the hearts of the rest of his enemies.

C H A P . X X I I .

The great armie of the Germanes ouerbowne. The death of the Duke of Bonillon. The Guises slander the King. The Learners besiege the Duchesse of Bonillon. Their overthrow. The Prince of Conde poisoned. The Parisians rebel against the King. The King fleeth to Chartres. The Guisards vow to kill the King.



He French King, and Duke of *Guise* were all this while verie
busie in prouiding of all necessarie meanes to withstande the 1588
Germaines, who still came on forwardes. Their armie con- *The army of*
sisted of fife thousand Ruitars, fife thousand Lancequenets, *the Germans*
sixteene thosand Switzers, with whom were ioyned fourt *commanded*
thousand French harquebuziers, and three hundred French *by the Duke*
horse. *of Bonillon.*
The Lord *Mony* brought also two thousand French
harquebuziers on horsebacke, the Lord *Villeneufe* one thousand, and the Lorde
Louers one thousand. The Lorde *Chastillon* likewise ioyned with them, with one
thousand fife hundred harquebuziers, and two hundred horses. The whole
number came to somethirte fife thousand: besides the companies brought by
the Prince of *Contie*. They had sixteene peeces of great Ordinance, with store
of all warlike munition. The general of all these, was the Duke of *Bonillon*, who
commaunded as Lieutenant for the King of *Navarre*.

This mightie and puissant armie was the terror of the League, and the
hope of the Protestants, but the expectation of both was disappoynited: for
after that the Germanes had marched through *Lorraine*, and were gotten in-
to *Fraunce* as farre as *Lancy* in *Masconois*, where by reason that manie principall
Capitaines were corrupted with money and fayre promises, and the rest suffe-
red great wants, they concluded to returne backe: so that hauing made their
capitulation, and gotten theyr Passeportes, euerie man made all the speede Sundry of the
home that might bee, loden with miserie, shame, and dishonour, with the losse *Germaine*
of many Ensignes and Cornets, *Captains cors*, besides their chiefe leaders and commaun-
ders. The Duke of *Bonillon*, generall of that armie, with the Lorde *Clerebant* and *ruyped by mo*
Van, being not able to draw them forwards by any perswasion, returned to Ge- *ny caused the*
neve, where they died shortly after: The Count de *La Marke*, brother to the duke *whole armie*
of *Bonillon*, was deceased long before at a place called *Loyne*. Great numbers of *to retire.*
this dispersed armie were innaded by their enemies, and slaine in their passage *The death of*
homewards, contrarie to the promise which had beeene made vnto them by the *Bonillon*.
Catholiques. The Colonels and Capitaines of the Switzers, the chiefe authours
of the dissolution of that Armie, were severely punished by their *Seyneuries*,
so that this whole armie was maruellously afflicted, and euerie one was scour-
ged after one sort or other: and hauing spent and spoyled infinitely, did nothing
but worke their owne calamite and ouerthrow.

The King vndoubtedly had taken maruellous care to seuer this mightie
puissance, and by cunning handling of the matter, had brought them to *The Guises*
this extreame passe, that vnder the colour of a Passeport, hee exposed them *slander the*
to the butcherie, and rage of their enemies. And althoogh that by reason of *King,*
this

THE MVTABILITIE

this politique dealing, he deserued high commendation : yet the *Guisé* so hand-led the matter, that all redownded to his further discredite, and cauled his subiects to speake worse of him then at anietime before. For the *Guisé* had caused it to bee bruited abroad, that not onely the King had willingly suffered the Germaines to escape, contrarie to the counsaile and aduice of the Duke of *Guisé*, but also had giuen them the meanes to reryre in safetie, some into *Germanie*, and others into *Languedoc*, there to ioyn with the King of *Navarre*, and so to continue further troubles in the lande, to the great and intollerable harme of the good Catholiques, and the encouraging of Heretikes, and such as were enemies to holy Chuch.

Whenthe Friers and Iesuits in *Paris*, and other principall cities were possessed with these newes, they brake forth into very seditious speeches, openly exclayming against the King, and extolling the wisdome, prowelte & noble acts of the duke of *Guisé* : whereby they procured him much fauor among the multirude that knew nothing, but what they heard by the Leaguers, and their favorites, which made them think, that the King had killed his thousand, but the *Guisé* his ten thousand. All which treacherous dealings tended to no other end but this : either to make the French beleue that the K. was not indowed with such noble and heroycall vertues, as were requisite for him that shoulde gouerne so mightrie and puissant a nation, or else that he was a notorious dissembler, a maintainer of Heretikes, & a secret enemy to the Catholikes. And then what should they doo with such a King? let the make choise of another more valiant, more wise, more prouident, more religious, & a more stout defender of holy Church : and who should that be, but the *Guisé*, who for the zeale, courage, valour, and singuler dexteritie in the manngaging of matters of estate, was not onely superior to the King, but the paragon of all Europe.

*The leaguers attempt as
against the
yong dukes
of Bonillon.*

The leaguers being assured of the death of the duke of *Bonillon*, and that hee had left his sister Madame *Charlate de la Marke*, a yong and tender Ladie, heyre to all his loueraigne segneurie, and principalitie of *Bonillon*, thought it their best to let the king of *Navarre* alone for a time, at whose handes there was little to bee gotten, vnlesse they payed deare for it, and to enterprise somewhat agaynst this desolate Ladie, and either by hooke or by crooke(as wee vse to say) to get the Dukedom into their possession. VVhereupon the Duke of *Guisé* vied all the cunning hee coulde, to match his sonne the Prince *Jen-*
will with her : and the Duke of *Lorraine* was as earnest a fater for his sonne, called *Martuis de Pont*, and Lorde *Vaudemont*. But neither of them being able by all their deuises, to winniethat Ladies fauour, they thought it best to ioynetogether, and to compell her to match according to their lykings. With this resolution they entered the Dukedom of *Bonillon*, wiith a great power, burning, wasting, killing, murthering, rauishing, and committing all other horrible and detestable villanies that coulde bee imagined, and besieged the sayde Ladie, and her two principall Townes, *Sedan* and *Laon*: where they continued a long tyme, spent much Treasure, and lost most of theyr men, and in the ende, with shame and dishonor, (beeing well beaten at a womans hand, by the valiant conduct of the Lord *Necuile*,) were glad to give ouer, and returne home.

*The crueltie
of the lea-
guers against
the dukedom
of Bonillon.*

Whilst

Whilst the dukedom of *Berillon*, was vexed and tormented with these troublesome sutors, the principal leagars assembled at *Nancie* in *Lorraine*, where there was a great consultation helde, how they might aduance themselves, and ouerthow the King, against whose person and state they had for a long time bent all their endeours. There they agreed to present certain articles to the king, which they would haue him agree vnto: and those were such as tended to the vicer destruction of the King, and the auncient Nobilitie of *Frannee*, and the safetie of themselves. First, they requested the King to ioyne more openly with the League, and to put all such as they dislyked out of their offices: To cause the Councell of *Trent* to bee proclaymed throughout all his Dominions: To establish the Spanish inquisition: To put such Castels and strong Townes into their handes, as they shoulde name vnto him: That hee shoulde sende an armie into *Lorraine*, vpon the borders of *Germany*, to let the entrie of strangers into the land, and for the maintenance thereof, should cause all the goods of those, whome they teameid Heretikes or fauourers of Heretikes, to bee folde, and the money to bee deliuered into theyr handes. That the Catholiques shoulde pay the tenth of their reuenewes for the same purpose: and that the surplussage shoulde bee to pay the most needfull debts of the principall Leaguers, and that the life of no Heretike prisoner, shoulde be spared, vntille hee would abiure, and put in good securitie to liue Catholiquely hereafter, and to giue all his goods, or the iust valew of them, which hee hath then in his possession, to the supporting of the League, and to binde himselfe to serue three yeares, wheresoeuer he should be commaunded.

The King did allowe of such of these Articles as did any way concerne the suppression of the reformed Religion: but considering that the rest did wonderfull derogate from his Crowne and dignitie, and that they tended directlieto the weakening of himselfe, and the strengthening of the league, of which, for a long tyme, hee had verie hardly conceyued, hee would not bee enduced to condicend vnto them, by anie manner of meanes or entreatie whatsoeuer.

Now as the Leaguers laboured openly by these and such like deuises, to weaken the King, so they practised secretly to destroy the King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde*, knowing that if they were once ridde of them, it woulde bee an easie matter to accomplish therest. Heerepon they set on worke certaine wicked and diuellish persons, to bring these two great Princes to their deaths. And assuring themselves that this detestable deuise woulde take effect, they caused it on a suddain to bee bruited all ouer the Realme of *Frannee*, that *Navarre* and *Conde* were both dead. But by Gods good prouidence, *Navarre* escaped that daunger, and tooke no harme.

The Prince of *Conde* by the treacherous and villaynous dealing of some of his houshalde seruaunts, and amongst others, of one *Brillant*, and a page, (two such as he had greatly fauoured, and bestowed many benefites vpon) was poisoned the third day of March, in the yere of our Lord, one thousand ffe hundred eighttie and eight, and died within two dayes after, at *Saint Jean d'Angely*. Whose death was greatly lamented of all good men, for that hee was wise, valiant, zealous in religion, truchated to his Prince, a louer of his country, and of *Conde*.

an irreconcilable enemy to the perturbers of the state, and to all such as hee knewe to be aduersaries to God, to the King, and to the Crowne of France.

The Guyses and the rest of the leaguers, reioyed not a little at this newes : for nowe they thought they were gotten one steppe higher, and had greater hope to oppresse the Protestants then before : who they knewe were mightily weakened with this losse. And for that they supposed that in this conseruation of mens mindes, they had oportunitie to attempt something, which might still aduaunce their affaires, they thought good that the Lorde Lauerdin, who had escaped a scowring at the bataile of *Contras*, should assaile *Marans*, a place of very great importaunce, and if it were possible to make it sure for the league.

*Marans
gained by the
Lord Lauerdin.*

The Lord Lauerdin applied his busynesse so diligently, that he gayned the sayd Island of *Marans* in a short time, by reason that the Protestants, being amased (as it were) with the vncouert death of the Prince, did not prouide timelie enough for the fortifying thereof, with such store of men and munition, as was necessarie.

Albeit that the King was glad, that the Lord Lauerdin had gotten *Marans*, yet he liked not that it shoulde be kept by the Lord Cluseaux, whom he knewe to bee a fauourer of the Leaguer: but there was no remedie, he must beare with the time, being indeede not able to doe as hee would, for the most part of his Councell, and those of the chiefest were leagers, and the Duke of *Guise*, the head of those monsters, had caused such infamous rumours to be raysed of the Kings actions, and by secret practises had so disgraced him among his subiects, that he was almost growne into contempt among the communaltie, and was imputed no bodie in comparison of the *Guise*. This opinion the King would gladly haue rooted out, and was verie desirous to gaine their good willes and affections, if possibly he might. The better to effect this, he thought best to proclaime wars afresh against the Protestants, and to rayse a great power, and to go in person into *Poitou*, agaynst the King of *Navare*, and all his confederates, that so by some famous exploits against those of the reformed religion, hee might regaine the loue and liking of his lost subiects.

*The King
prepareth to
go into
Poitou a-
gainst the
Protestants.*

*The Guise
determineth
to seise upon
Paris, and
to take the
King.*

The Duke of *Guise*, who knew that he had stollen away the peoples hearts from the King, thought it now good time to discouer his secrete meaning more openly, and presuming of his fauourers at Court, and the good wil of the countrey, concludeth to get *Paris*, to seise vpon the king either aliue or dead, to kill as many princes of the blood, and other officers of the crowne as he could lay hands vpon, and by fine force to set the diadem of *France* vpon his owne head. Now that he might be the more assured to accomplish all this, he wrote secret letters to all his chiefe friends and followers, to meeete him at *Paris*, as spedily as they might. And for that the King should not be able to withstand him, he had set the duke of *Aumale* to warre against loundry townes and cities in *Picardy*, and had giuen order that others should attempt as much in *Normandy*, and other places: knowing that the king would send thither his principall forces to keepe those countries in his obedience, and then he might with more facilitie execute his intended purpose.

Vpon these aduertisements of the *Guise* to his associates, there repayed

vnto

vnto Paris, great numbers of the most factious, turbulent, and malecontent persons of all the Land. Many Spanish Capaines and Hispaniolized French, were loone assembled in that mightie Cittie, and that to the number of fiftene or lixeene thousand: besides, the Citizen Leaguers who were exceeding many, and those as desperate and rash headed as any others whosoeuer: the Duke of Guyse being diligently enformed of this, and knowing how greatly hee was expected at *Paris* by his confederates, resolued to post thither with all speedie, and the rather for that the king (euen as he wished) had now dispersed his forces, sending some into *Normandy* and others into *Picardy* to maintaine his authoritie in those prouinces: the King had long mistrusted the *Guyse*, & for that he was now aduertised that hee was comming to *Paris*, he vehemently suspected that there was some notable practise in hand, to be performed against him by the Leaguers, he therefore sent word to the sayd Duke, whom hee vnderstood to bee forward on his way, by the Lord *Believre*, that in no wise hee should come to *Paris* at that time vppon paine of his displeasure, and in case that he would notwithstanding continue his iourney, that then hee helde him for a traytore and the authour of all those miseries wherewith the Land was so encombred at that instant: *Believre* did his message, but the *Guyse* did little regard it, for he followed the said *Believre* at the heeles, and was at *Paris* almost assoone as hee, accompanied not past with some fiftene or lixeene Gentlemen, the better to couer his intended purpose, knowing that he should finde a sufficient number of partakers to maintaine himselfe against all men.

Not long after his arriuall, he went very confidently to see the king, and with all humble reverence with his knee to the ground, saluted him: but the king being highly displeased for that his coming, contrary to his commandement, gaue him a frowning countenance. The *Guyse* stayed not long at Court but returned to his house in the Cittie: immediatly after, the King being duely enformed of the great number of strangers that were in the same Cittie, and that it was verie likely that they remained there for some dangerous exploit, caused twelue companies of French men and Switzers to bee distributed into sundrie places to keepe all quiet and in their due obedience. The Cittizens at the instigation of the *Guyse* & his companies, tooke the Alarum, & making as though they feared that they should be murthered and haue their houses sacked, (for divers were sent about to disperse such reports) armed themselues, and beeing assisted by *Briſſac*, *Borſdanphim*, *Chamois*, and therest of the Guyfards, set vpon the Switzers and the rest of the Kings guardes: whereof some they killed, and other they disarmed, and such as remained they kept as prisoners, and hoping nowe to attaine to the Period of their desires, they made theyr approches and besieged the Louvre, entending to take the King either aliue or dead.

The king seeing all that great and populous Cittie in an vprore, and that hee had not sufficient forces to oppose against such a rebellious rabble, determined to leauethe Louvre, at the perswasions of sundrie his most faithfull counsellors, who aduised him to giue place to that desperate Rebellion, & to seeke his safetie some other where: whereupon he incontinently departed from *Paris*, and went that night as farre as *Trappes*, and the next day to his Cittie of *Chartres*. Many great Lords & Gentlemen of good place which were the kings friends, went

went after him as fast as they could, some on horsebacke, and some on foote, making as good shifft as they could vpon so short warning: wherein wee may note a maruailous strange alteration and vicissitude in the state of this great Prince, who hauing beeene so mighty a monarke, and a king of two such noble and puissant countreyes as were *Polonia* and *France*, a commander ouer so many great and honourable personages, and had ruled such an infinite multitude of all sorts, was now driven out of his owne house, and out of his cheefest Citie, and forced to ffe before him who was his vassalle and subiect, to his intollerabla greefe and vexation, leauing his treasure and whatsoeuer precious things he had, to be a pray for his enemies.

The *Guye* vnderstanding that the king was escaped, and had auoyded his bloodyng fingers, was maruailously grieved, and curied his overlight, knowing that hee shold never haue the like oportunitie againe to effect his purpose, and fearing that the King would seeke to be revenged of so great an indignitie offered to his person, thought that hee wold prouide the meanes as wel as he could, to defende himself and his: & therfore he seised vpon the Kings armes, and vpon his treasur, whereof hee brought to his owne house aboue seauen hundred thousand Crownes, which hee laide vp as an earnest for the rest. Then did he forthwith alter the pollicie of the Citie, remouing *Perron* the prouost of the Merchants from his office, and the rest of the cheefest officers which he knew to be affectionate to the king, and placed such as were the most factious & seditionis Leaguers in their roumes: he wrote also sundry letters to his friends abroad, and to the principall Townes such as he knew to bee deuoted to him, requiring them to ioyne with him, and to be in a readinesse when hee shold haue neede, and caused it to be bruted, that all that which had passed at *Paris* was not against the king, but to defend the Citie which was in danger to bee spoyled by strangers, and that the king by the counsell of the Duke of *Espenon*, who had (said he) intelligence with the King of *Navarre* and the Heretiques, had caused sundrie gibbets to be set vp in seueral places of the Citie, to hang diuers Citizens and to spoyle their houses, thereby to gather money, and to warre against the Leaguers.

*The Guye
seeks vpon
the Kings
treasur.*

*The Guye
seeks to con-
quer his rebels
by force.*

When the *Guye* had taken the course to assure himselfe by all the devises hee could, hee wrote letters to the king, seeking to disguise all this action, and to perswade him, that hee had no euill meaning against his maestic, but had alwaies beeene and still remained his most dutifull subiect, and had in this tumultuousstirre, happened at *Paris*, shewed how hee respected the King and all his seruants, in that hee had taken so great prayes even with the danger of his life to sauе sundrie his officers, his Captaines and Souldiers, and so farre forth as possibly he might, to keep the people from murther and bloudshed, which was then so likely to haue fallen out, and that to the great and irreperable harme of the Kings best affected subiects. After the alleging of these and many other arguments to proue his fidelitie, he besought the king to be his gracious Lord, and to account of him as his most saithfull and loyall subiect, and for that hee had a guiltie conscience, hee was continually in feare, lest the King would at one time or other bee revenged, howsoeuer peradventure for the time hee might dissemble the matter, and shew him a sayle countenance, and therefore

therefore hee practised all meanes to make his atronement, and to that ende made earnest to the Queene mother to stand his gracious Lady. Such was his demeanor, and so cunningly hee handled the matter, that she was woon to be a mediator for him, and to assay to bring him againe into the kings fauor.

The king reposing a maruisous confidence in his mother, who had bewitched him with an opinion of her loue and naturall affection towards him, suffered himselfe to be ruled by her aduice, notwithstanding all the persuasions of the Catholikes that were about him, who exclaimed against the *Guyse*, and their proude and rebellious enterprises, and required the king to take condigne punishment, proffering him their seruice, their liues, theyr goods, and whatsoeuer meanes they had for the accomplishment thereof. The king thanked them for their good wills, but resolting to make a peace, sent them home againe, and would not follow their counsels. After much going and comming on both sides, the reconciliation was made, & the K. & the Leaguers became good friendes, and intended to bend all their forces against the Protestants. Wherupon two mighty armies were prepared, the one for *Guyen*, commanded by the Duke of *Nevers*, & the other for *Danphiny*, vnder the leading of the Duke de *Maine*. All these troublous stirs being now ended, & the K. and the Leaguers beeing made friends, it was thought good to call an assembly of the state to reforme the pollicie of the Land, and to take some finer course for the prosecuting of the warres against the Hugonots, and to that ende the king sent his writs to summon all prouinces, Cities, and townes, to send their deputies to *Blois*, prouided alwaies that they were good Catholiks, and such as neither had fauour, nor were any waies suspected to fauour the king of *Nanarre* nor his associats, and the Duke of *Guyse* and the rest of the Leaguers so handled the matter in the meantime, that not any one man in a maner was chosen to be sent to that assembly, but such as they were assured did either openly or secretly fauor their proceedings.

At this great Parlement there was much adoo and many things talked of, but especially of the Edict of *Rennion*, made the one and twentie of Iuly, which tended to the establishing of Poperie, the rooting out of Heresie, and the dis-inheriting of the Princes of the bloud, prouoking the king with many bitter words & vehement exhortations, to embrew his hâds in the bloud of the saints, and with fire and sword to roote them out of *France*. All which was assented vnto by the king and his three estates, & enacted as a fundamentall law of the land, which they all swore to see inviolably kept, and obserued in al the kings dominions, to the vttermost of their powers.

The king of *Nanarre* was quickly aduertised of whatsoeuer had passed at *Blois*, and therfore assembled all his principall friends & followers at *Rochel*, the 16. of *Septembre* following, whither likewise all the reformed churches sent theyr deputies: where they resolued vpon the defensiuue, and the meanes how to withstand their enemies. The king continued at *Blois* all this while, and albeit hee shewed a faire countenance to the *Guyse*, yet in heart hee loued him not, for that indignitie which was offered him at *Paris*, besides many other fauorie and audacious Pranks which hee plaide since, did breed a reuenging minde in the K. which he meant to shew more apparantly assoone as any oportunity was offered. Now as it vsually falleth out betweene late reconciled enemies, each

*The Queen
mother re-
conciles the
Guyse to the
King.*

*Two armies
sent against
the Protes-
tants.*

*This Par-
lement was
appointed to
begin the
15. of Au-
gust, yet af-
terward it
was deferred
untill the
ninth of Oc-
tober follows*

each still suspected other, and many tares fell out betweene their friendes and followers ; which bred sundrie turres and hurleburlies in the Court : but there were two especially which gaue the alarum to the Courtiers, and made euerie man to stand vpon his guard. The first quarrell arose among the Pages and lackies, some holding with the Burbons, and some with the Leaguers, wherewith the Duke of *Guyse* was so affrighted, that hee ran into his chamber, barred the doores, and kepe himselfe as cloe as he could. The second was occasioned by a souldier, who beeing hurt ranne to save himselfe in the *Guyse* Chamber, whither hee was followed by the kings guard, with their drawn swords in their hands, whereupon once againe all the Court was in an vptore, not without great feare, least some dangerous event would ensue.

*Two soldiers
uprises at
Court.*

*The Guyse a
maistainer
of murdere
rs and Re
bels.*

*The Guyse
refuseth to
take his oath
for the pre
servation of
the King.*

*The Guyse
and his assas
cates now to
kill the king.*

About the middle of December, the Duke of *Guyse* shewed himselfe more disobedient then at any time before, and a great contemner of the king and his authoritic, in maintaining a number of Russians, murtherers, factious & seditious persons, and such as raised a rebellion in August last, and had attempted the killing of the Duke of *Esperman* at *Engolesme*. These were lodged in the Court, and stoked about the *Guyse*, and were so countenanced by him, that no Magistrat durst say a word to them : besides, the king being daily enformed of many trecherous practises against his person and estate, called al his Nobles, and willed them to sweare, that they should neuer attempt any thing against him : the Duke most disloyally refused, and said in his presence, that he would not take such an oath, and if hee did any thing otherwise then he ought, there were good lawes to punish him, spare him not . no other answere could bee gotten at his hands, and fearing that the king would be revenged as well for this as for other notorious contempts , as also considering that all the drifts of his councellers were so discovered, that there was no way to hide them anie longer, and therefore that now with all speede hee must put them in executio[n], hee called a Councell of his most trusty friends, as *Lewis Cardinal* of *Guyse* his brother, the *Archbishop* of *Lyons*, and some fewe others, in which it was concluded, that the king must needs bee dispatched out of hand, and that all delaies were dangerous : and therefore the twentie soure of that moneth was appointed for that tragical execution, binding themselves to see the same performed with a solemne oath.

Thus wasthis great french king discovered of a very auncient and noble race, honoured for a long time of his owne subiects, and reverenced of his neighbour Princes, condemned to die by the hands of most disloyall traytors, who had all their aduauncement by him and his predecessors.

C H A P. XXIII.

The King resolath to kill the Guyse. The death of Francis Duke of Guyse, and of the Cardinall his brother. The terror of the Guyfards. The death of the Queene mother.

Hough the King knew not of this sentence of death which was pronounced against him, yet the olde and new iniuris offered vnto him by the Guyse, did sufficiently exasperate him, and made him watch all opportunitie to seeke his reuenge, and assoone as euer he could to be ridde of so desperate a traytor. This determination of the king could not be kept so secer, but that the Guyse hauing many friends about the king, who suspected some such thing, aduertised the Duke the two and twenty of December, by laying a little bill vnder his napkin wherin was written: *Looke to your selfe for some are about to play a shrewd play with you.* He perusing the writing, wrote this answere: *They dare not, and so threw it vnder the Table.* The same day the king receiuied diuers aduertisements of this horrible conspiracie of the Guyse against his person, and especially from the Duke de Maine, who sent Alphonso Corseto to him with this message. *That it tyme of was an easie matter to carrie blades about, and to put on a counterfeit shew of holinesse, but the Duke of bee was sure that his brother had a dangerous enterprise in hand against his Maiestie, which hee knew not certaintly when hee would put in execution, but hee was well assured that the time was not farre off, and that hee doubted least his warning shoulde come too late.* And aduised him in these words, *That his Maiestie should beware of a desperate and furious mind.* The Duke of Aumale sent likewise the duchesse his Wife to ghe the King to understand, *That there was great danger towards his person, and that the conspirators were upon the paynt of execution.* The king had also intercepted manie letters, by which hee did evidently perceiue as much, and how that the Guyses had sworne his death and destruction, and disinhereting of the royall bloud of France in the houses of Valoys and Burbons, and to sette vpp the house of Lorraine.

All these remonstrances made the king bestirre him, and to deuise some spedie Course for the preseruation of his owne life. Wherupon he got the keyes of the Castle, doubled his guards, and appointed a strong watch in the Town, with commaundement not to open the gates without his speciall silente: all which was doone in the night, without the knowledge of the Guyse, and calling vnto him some seauen or eight of those ffe and fortie pensioners which daily attened on his person, hee revealed vnto them his purpose, requiring theyr ayde and assistance, who received most willingly their seruice, with promise to execute his will, and to doo as his Maestic had directed them.

The next morning the Duke of Guyse, the Cardinall his brother, the Archbishop of Lyons with the Mareschall of Haultment were assembled in the chamber neare vnto the king, and readie to sit in councell howe and in what manner it were best to commit their detestable parricide. The king hauing disposed of all things in the best manner that hee could deuise, sent a Gentleman to call the

the Duke of *Gnyse* to come and speake with him, who comming forth, and seeing the Guards more carefully disposed then was accustomed, having a guiltie conscience, beganne to suspect, and (as oftentimes the minde of man vpon the instant of so great aduentures presageth that which afterward ensueth) so at this present the Dukes hart fainted, and his colour changed, & as one fearing some imminent perill, hee was readie to swound: hee had sent his Page for a handkercheffe, in one of the corners whereof his secretarie named *Pellicart* had knit vp a little written bill, containing a warning to get him away with all speede, or else he were but dead. But this handkercheffe was intercepted with the remembrance, as the Page was comming vppe, and never came to his handes.

The Duke in going through a narrow passage to the King, encreased his mistrust, and was about to retorne, but still hee went forwards into the Kings vitter chamber, where seeing the Lord *Laiguache* sitting vpon a chest, whom of all other he most hated, for that he had bee long perswaded that he same Lord determined to kill him, hee set his hand to his sword with a purpose to set vpon the sayde *Laiguache*: but by reason hee did weare his Cloake Scarfewile, he was so troubled, that he could not draw it past halfe way out of the sheath: they who were appoynted for his execution, seeing him enterprise such an audacious act and that at the kings chamber doore, preuented him and slew him at that instant.

The death of Francis D^r of Guyse.

The death of the Cardinall of Guyse

The noyse was such in this tragical execution, that the Cardinall entred into a mistrust, and made hast to get forth, but he was stayed by a Gentleman of the Scottish guard, who had commandement to arrest him, and not long after by reason of his former treasons and his presumptuous behaviour at that present, mingled with some threatening speeches, hee was strangled in the same place where hee was taken prisoner. The Archbishop rushed foorth in great furie, and saide hee would helpe the Duke of *Gnyse*, but hee was quickly cooled and clapt vp in prison, though afterward released vpon his submission and acknowledgement of his offence. The Cardinall of *Burbon*, the Prince *Tenuille* sonne to the Duke of *Gnyse*, the Mareschall *D'Albenfe*, with many other periakers in this treason, were apprehended and committed to safe keeping, and likewise *Pellicart* secretarie to the Duke of *Gnyse* with all his papers and writings, whereby all the secret Councelles of the *Guyses* and the rest of the Leaguers, as well of Princes and Nobles as of the Clergie, Towne, and Cities, were manifested and discouered.

The fame of this execution was foorthwith spread abroade in the Towne, albeit the Castle gates were shut, which made all such as had guiltie consciences to packe from *Blois* as speedily as euer did the Protestants from the suburbs of Saint *Germaines* on *Bartholomew day*, and to seeke to shif for themselves some other where.

The Guysards flee from Blois.

Thus were the Leaguers wonderfully crossed in their desaignements, and many who the day before thought it an honour to bee called Guysards and were readie to challenge to the Combate, such as reputed them Royalles were now altered on the sodaine, and cast in a newe mould, esteeming all that factious multitude worse then theies and murtherers.

Shortly

Shortly after that these things thus passed at *Blois*, died the Queen mother, *The death of the Queen mother of France* who was very olde, and had liued too long for *Fraunce*, where she had beeene as the firebrand of the Country, the nurse of all rebellions, the bellowes of all civil dissencion, the instrument of the diuell, to worke all impietie and vngodliness, the procurer of the fall and destruction of her owne children, and the principal worker of all this wofull and lamentable alteration, happened in that noble and renowned Kingdome.

CHAP. XXV.

The rebellion of Duke de Maine, and most of the principall Cities of Fraunce. The King of Praunce, and the King of Nauarre are reconciled, The King of Fraunce murthered by a Frier, The King of Nauarre proclaimed King of Fraunce.



He King thought good to aduertise all his subiects of that 1589

which had happened at *Blois*, and for that purpose wrote diverse Letters to his severall gouernors of his prouinces, duly informing them of al these occurrences: and sent to the assembly of the States, to let them vnderstande, that it was his pleasure, that they should still continue: and that he was fully determined to followe their reasonable counsailes in all things: but they by little and little slyding away one after another, got them home into their Countryes: and by spreading of most accursed and damnable rumours, deprauing the Kings fact with many hyperbolical speeches, which they amplified with sundry lying reasons, and defamatorie libels, tearing this execution by the name of the massacre committed at *Blois*, caused an vnuer-sall rebellion of all those Townes, Cities, and Prouinces, which had received the Gospel in former tymes. *The Duke de Maine* no sooner vnderstood thereof, but that he perswaded himselfe, that seeing his brother was dead, he might now peraduenture obtaine the Crowne for himselfe, if hee would lay in for it: *Maine rebel* for hee had a great power in a readinesse, and no doubt but the most of the *Leaguers* would followe him, for feare least if they shoulde fall into the *King*. *Kinges handes*, hee woulde punish them according to theyr deserts. With this resolution hee left *Dauphiny*, and hasted into *Burgundie*, and *Champaigne*, taking with him such strength and power as hee could get, and making sure as manie places as hee coulde come by, prepared to make warre agaynst the king.

Paris which was the capitoll Citie of the whole kingdome, and had more fauoured the *Guise* then anie other, was moued to great indignation, and shewed it selfe highly offended. And being further incensed with the piteous outcryes and lamentable complaints of the Duchesses of *Guise* and *Nemours*, and with the ineuctiue Sermons of the Iesuites, and Friers, grewe into a desperate madnesse, shaking off the yoake of obedience, and rebelled open-*lye* agaynst theyr naturall Prince, and liege Lorde. Most of the greatest, ry-*cheſt*, and strongest Cityes, as *Orleance*, *Roan*, *Amiens*, *Aniou*, *Lyons*, *Abeville*, *Remes*, *Theloue*, and manie others, followed the example of the Parisians,

and conspiring with the rest of the Leaguers, imprisoned the Kings friendes, seyzed vpon his strong holdes, robbed him of his treasure, and vsed him in all outragious and rebellious maner.

The King vnderstanding of all these seditious stirres, sought by faire meanes and in gentle maner, to reduce them to their obediencie, sending out his proclamations to pardon whatsoeuer was past, and to burie it in the graue of obliuion, so that they woulde lay downe their Armes, and live peaceable vnder his authoritie, as in dutie they were bound: but they made no reckoning of the Kinges clemencie, but tearemed it cowardinesse, as though hee were afraied of their forces, beeing animated by the Sorbonists, and their Doctours in Theologie, who had resolued that they were set free from theyr oath of obediencie, and former allegiaunce made vnto Henrie the thirde. And that it was lawfull for them, and for all the residue of the people of Fraunce, to take Armes agaynst the layde King Henrie, and to persecute him, and all his adherents, with fire and sworde, as enemyes to God, to their Countrey, and to holy Church.

*The seditious
dissenters
of the Sorbo-
nists.*

When they had once gotten this aduaantage, that they were able to colour their proceedings (as it were with an oracle from heauen) they made no more *Mauermade* conscience at the matter, but presently determined to choose them a Generall for general of the leading of their forces, and to establish a new Councell by whose direction Leaguers. they might manage the rest of their affayres. They refused all the Princes of the blood, and chose the Duke de Maine, who was a man much fauoured of the leaguers, and one that was well acquainted with all their practises. The Dukes of Aumale, and Nemours, with the Cheualier of Aumale, were made gouernours of Paris. There were also 47. of the most seditious, turbulent, factious, and bitterest enemies to the King, appoynted to order the stafe, as the kings prynie counsell had done in former times. These had no sooner gotten this authoritie into their handes, but they committed most horrible outrages against all such as they suspected to be the kings friendes, imprisoning, murthering, robbing, sacking and spoylng them in such sort, as was neuer heard of within any mans remembrance, and going to the royall pallace called the Louvre, they seyzed vpon all

*The Leaguers
appoint a
counsell of
state.*

*The Leaguers
notorious
disobedience.*

the kings goods, they violated the great Seale of France, brake it in peeces, and trode it vnder their feete. They rent and tore the Armes of Valois, and Bourbon, and trayled them in most despitefull manner in the mire and dyrt through the Streetes: and assembling as manie of the principlall Leaguers, both of the Nobilitie, Cleargie, and Communaltie as they coulde, wrote to other Cities, theyr Confederates, to follow their example, and to ioyne with them, and also to procure as manie partakers as they might, the better to countenance their proceedings.

The king had often and very seriously dissuaded them from this seditious course, and with all lenitie sought to reduce them to their former obediencie: but considering that he preuailed nothing by gentlenesse, and clemency, but rather that the people waxed worse & worse, he therefore now determined to take a sharper course, and by force to bring them vnder his obediencie, but fearing his owne weaknesse, and want of sufficient power to bring his purposes to passe for that he was, as it were cōfassed about with his enemies, not knowing what

todo , or whome to trust , perseyuing that the most of those who were about him , were fauorers of the rebels , hee was content to follow the aduice of his most trustie counsellors , and to make peace with the King of *Nauarre* , and to vse his counsal and forces for his instant lawfull defence : and the rather for that the Duke de *Maine* approached verie neare vnto him , with a great and puissant armie . Thus was the king for the safetie of his person , forced to cast himselfe into the armes of him , whom for manie yeares hee had reputed for his mortall enemie , and glad to seeke to be preserued by such an one , whose destruction he had sought with all extremitie .

*The king
with the
of Nauarre.*

The King of *Nauarre* being aduertised of the Kings intent , and solicited by sundry messengers to come to his ayde with all expedition , called his Nobles and Capaines , and gathered all his forces together , and passing ouer the *Loyre* at *S. Immer* , went towards the King , who was greatly distressed at *Tours* , and in imminent perill , to bee oppressed by the Leaguers . The King vnderstanding of his approach , the thirtie of Aprill sent the Mareschall *Haultmont* , accompanied with a great number of the Nobilitie , to desire him to come to *Plesis* syde *Tours* : where hee with all his Court staid for him .

*The meeting
of the King
of France,
the King of
Nauarre.*

The King of *Nauarre* readily obeyed , passing ouer the bridge of *Saint Saphorin* , where hee left his forces in battaile array , and went towarde the King , whom hee found staying for him in the Parke of *Plesis* . There was such a concourse of people , and so great a throng , that the two Kings were forced to stay aboue halfe a quarter of an hour , stretching and holding out their hands before they could embrace one another : so great was the preale , and such a multitude were flockt together , to beholde this ioyfull and blessed meeting . The kind embracings and louing salutations betwene these two Potentates , did evidently declare their inward ioy & contentation . The reioysing of all sorts was incredible : nothing was heard for the space of halfe an hour , but God save the King : a voyce which had not beene heard neare the Court in morethen fourre Moneths before . And reiterating their ioyfull acclamations , they ceased not but cryed out , God save the Kings , God save the King , and the King of *Nauarre* .

Here wee may see a straunge and maruailous alteration on the sudden : for these two Princes which had beeene so bitter enemies , each hauing for a long time pursued other by ctuell and bloodie warres , are now reconciled , and are become louing and kind friends . And the King , who not long before stoopte in daunger , either to be murthered , or else to be deliuered into the hands of those , who thirsted for nothing more then for his blood , is now freed from all feare , and restored to his former libertie : and is fortifyed by the arryall of this Prince and Armie , which did both countenance his authoritie , and encourage his friendes , and so dannted his enemyes ; that the Duke de *Maine* , was *The Duke de Maine
beftie to
Paris.*

The two kings late often in councell about their affaires , devising of the best mea[n]ts to prosecute their warres for their most aduantage . The King of *Naarye* made many roades into the Countie , to the great damage and hurt of the Leaguers , and so courred the coast that no enemie durst once appear in sight .

In the meane while the king receiued certaine Regiments of Switzers, and help came from all parts of his Kealme: so that his armie dayly encreased in number, fame and power. And being now able to meeete his enemies in the face, he marched toward Paris, and tooke by the way Ponthoys, Saint Clow, Poysey, Saint Germaines, Charewton, and sundrie other townes. By which means that great and populous Citie begannet to bee sore distresst for want of victuals and other necessaries.

*The King
marcheth to
ward Paris.*

*The leaguers
conspire to kill
the King.*

*Frier James
Clement, ap-
pointed to kill
the King.*

*Frier Cle-
ment goeth to
the campe at
Saint Clow.*

This made the conspirators to tremble, and to lay their heads togither, howe to auoyd this perill, which now hung ouer their heads: whereupon the dukes of Maine, Annoyle, and Nemours, the Archbishop of Lions, whom the King a little before had pardoned and set at libertie, the Lord Rosue, Bessdenph Brissac, Sagone, the 47. which were chosen for the Councell, and the 17. Colonels, which were appointed ouer the 18. wards of the city assembled togither: and after much reasoning, *pro & contra*, at last resolued that the onely meanes to save them selues, and to aduaunce their affaires, was to kill the King, who otherwise was likely to get the Citie in short time, and to take an exemplarie punishment vpon them, and all their adherents. Hereupon the King is once againe condemned to die, and as speedie a course taken as might be deuised to hasten his execution. They perswaded with one Frier James Clement, of the order of S. Dominicke, a lewd and bold hypocrite, and enduced him with many reasons (who was otherwise ready enough to any mischiefe) to attempt this tragical and bloody act. They forced the first president of the Senate, named Harley, whom for his faithfullnesse to his Prince, they had long detained in prison, to write letters to the K. which this Frier should carrie with him. They taught the sayd Clement likewise a lesson, containing matters of great weight and importaunce, aduising him that he shoulde not disclose hem to any but to the King, and that in priuate, and great secrecie. Prouiding him besides, a sharpe & long knife, enuenomed with deadly poyson, wherewith he shoulde aduenture to murther the sayd King, as soone as he espied any fit occasion offered, and entreated Pagarola the Popes Legat to belse him, and his knife for his better speed.

The Frier being throughly schooled by this accursed companie, prepareth for hisiourney: he putteth on his hypocriticall weed on his back, layeth vp his lesson in his head, and secretly hideth his poisoned knife in his sleeve, and taking an other Frier as bad as himselfe in his companie, hasted to execute his devillish purpole and intent. Hee was no sooner come to the Campe, which then lay at Saint Clow, but hee tolde such as hee mette first, that hee had Letters to the King from the first President, and certaine other Parisians, well affected to his Maiestie, contayning matters of verie great importaunce, besides manie other waightie things to bee declared by worde of mouth. The King being soorthwith aduertised hereof, commaunded that hee shoulde attende vntill hee were called. Within a while after, the king willed that the Frier shoulde bee brought before him. The Frier entered verie boldlie into the kings Chamber, and being asked what his errant was, hee aunswere that hee had matters of great waight and importaunce, to declare vnto his Maiestie, and such as highly concerned his service, the king supposing that all was Gospell that the Frier sayde, commaunded such as were about him

to auoyde the Chamber, and sate downe in a Chayre to heare the Friars newes. "The Frier approached to the King, and falling vpon his knees, beganne to tell a long tale: and occupying the Kinges eares with a long and lying discourse, clyping his aduaantage, drewe out his knife out of his sleeve, and stabbed the King in the lower part of his belly; and then made haſt to get away. The king being wonderfully terrified with that vnexpected attempt, cryed out, and laying hand vpon a dagger which was neare him, strooke the Frier, and wounded him. The Lords and Gentlemen which were attending in an other Chamber, hearing the noyse, came running in, and with their Swordes and Rapiers, slue the Frier.

The Kings Surgeons were presently called, and his wound dressed, and he layde on his bed. And for that he knewe not whether he ſhould die or not, he called for the king of *Navarre*, all the Princes, Lordes, and Noble men, that were in his Campe, and for the Capitaines, Colonels, and Chieftaines of the Straungers, before whom hee declared, that the king of *Navarre* was the true, and indubitate heire to the Crowne of *Fraunce*: praying and exhorting all of them to acknowledge him, and to promife true obedience vnto him, and to cause the lyke to bee acknowledged in the whole Campe: and forthwith cauſed Letters to be written to all Prouinces and Cities, to aduertise them, howe things had paſſed at Saint *Cloire*, and of his laſt will and Testament: requiring all his faithfull ſubiects to protest the fulfilling of the ſame: iſtantly requiring all true Frenchmen to reuenge his death, and to take condigne punishment vpon the authors of that impious & execrable fact, and for the two and twentie of Iulie 1489. the poyon preuyling, and diſpersing it ſelue through his bodie, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be deuised, or imagined, hee yeelded vp his life into the handes of him that gaue it him, hauing reigned fourteene yeare, and ſeven moneths.

And this was the ende of *Henrie the third the French king, and king of Polonia*, and the laſt of the house of *Valois*: who being bewitched with the ſorceries of his mother, and inclyning to euill by his owne bad disposition, opposed him ſelfe agaynst Gods true religion, and being giuen ouer to worke his owne deſtruſion, followed the wicked counſailes of his notorious and ſworne enemies, who ſpake him fayre to his face, but inwardly hated him, and neuer ceaſed persecuting of their deueliſh deniſes, vntill they had brought his ſtate to conuſion, and procured his vntimely death and deſtruſion.

CHAP.

M 3

CHAP. XXVI.

Henrie the fourth the French King, ouerthroweth the Leaguers in two severall batailes, Great famine in Paris. The Duke of Parma entreteth into France, releueth Paris. From whence he flieth waine in great haste into the Low Countries. The Pope excommunicateth the King, whereto he causeth his Bull to be burned at Towers. The great Armie of the Germanes. The Duke of Parma goeth the seconde time into Fraunce, and preuyaleth greatly agaynst the King. The Leaguers seeke for peace. The King encline to Paperie. His coronation. Paris with most of the great Citties of Fraunce turne to the King.

The princes, Nobles, and souldiers take their oath of obedience to Henry the fourth.



Immediately after the death of *Henrie the third*, *Henrie of Burbon King of Navarre*, and the true inheritor to the Crowne of France, both by his owne right, and by the last will and testament of the late King, was proclaimed King of France, by the name of King *Henrie the fourth*, and so acknowledged by all the Princes, Nobles, Colonels, Capaines and souldiours in the Campe, after the ancient maner of chouising the Romane Emperors, giuing him their oaths of fidelite and obedience, with protestation to alisst him to maintaine his royll and princely authoritie against all traitours, rebels, and leaguers, to the vthermost of their powers. The Prince *Montpensier*, being then at *Audly*, a towne vpon the Riuier of *Seyne*, caused likewise all his army to take the like oath, exhorting them to defend constanly the late kings wil, and valiantly to oppole themselves against al seditious persons, & despisers of gods lawfull ordinance, traitorsto their King, & sworne enemies to their own country.

This Henrie of Burbon King of Navarre, and now the French king (and so hereafter he shall be termed) considering the strength of his open enemies, and fearing the treacherie of many in the Campe, who were deuoted to the league, knowing that they might be a meanes to distresse him, beeing so neare vnto a great number of his euill willers, who were likely to double their rage, by reason of this exploit done vpon the late Kings person, thought good to licence so *King retneth* many as he suspected, to depart the campe, and determined to retire with the toward *Normandie*, somewhat further from his enemies, and to gather as great a power as hee could of his trustiest, and most assured friends, and in the meane time, to view the attempts and preparations of the Leaguers.

The armie of the D. de Maine, belides all the bands which he had collected of the French rebels, receyued certaine Swart Runters vnder the leading of the Duke of *Brimfrische*. The Duke of *Lorraine* sent his sonne likewise called the Marques of *Pont*, with certaine companies of horsemen with this great armie, which amounted to the number of 25000 men. The Duke de *Maine* marched towards *Depe*, where the King lay with some nine or ten thousand men: who vnderstanding of the approach of the enemie, tooke the field with those forces which he had, and encamped at *Argues*, about two miles frō *Depe*, where he stayed not long, but that the enemie appeared in sight at a village not far off, called *Martinelize*. The king sent out forthwith his light horsemen to discouer, between whō & the forerunners

of the Leaguers, there were many hot skirmishes. On the 19. day of September the enemie passed ouer a little riuer which ranne betweene both Armies, and put himselfe in battaile array very well ordered & strongly appointed. and marched directly towards the king. The Lord *Billing* with two thousande shot was appointed to charge first, and the Duke de *Maine* stood behinde him, with a strong battaile readie to succour as need required. The king had quickly ordered his battailon, & hauing disposed of all things in as warlike maner as he could devise, sent forth his light horsemen to charge the enemie, who were backed with the Prince of *Conde*, led by the Lord *Montaret*. His battailon of footemen was flanked with his owne cornet, wherein were the Lord *Grand Pryor of France*, the Count *Rochfaucon*, the Count *Roff* his brother, the Count *Rochford*, with diuers other Gentlemen of great reckoning, and such as were neerest about his person: and hauing called vpon God to ayde him in his iust and righteous quarrell, so furiously charged the enemie, that hee left fiftie hundred dead vpon the place at that instant. The rest seeing the slaughter of their fellowes, and the furie of the kings souldiers, began to shrinke, and in a shose time to flie away in great feare and disorder.

The Principall men of the Leaguers which were slain, were the Lord *Saint Andrew Sagne*, Collonell of the light horsemen, the Lord *Saint Vidal* Lieutenant of the Ordenance, the Lord *Vienuslle*, Count *Billing*, *Tamblecourt*, *Sauelak*, and diuers others were taken prisoners. The king lost the Count *Roff*, brother to *Rochfaucon*, and the Lord *Bake Ville* a Gentleman of very worthy and commendable parts, and not past some thirtie or fortie others.

The Duke de *Maine* seeing his bad lucke, retrayred his beaten troupestowards *Picardy*: the king being strengthened with the forces of the Prince of *Seyssons*, Duke *Languanille*, and Marechall *Haultmont*, besides foure thousand Englishmen newly sent him out of *England*, vnder the leading of the right noble and valiant Lord *Willowby*: departed from *Deepe*, & coasted the enemie, til he came to *Menlau* and then returned toward *Paris*, supposing that by that meanes hee should draw the Duke to follow him, and so bring him to a battaile. The King comming to *Paris* about the 28. of October, determined to assault the suburbs, and hauing prepared all things in a readinesse for that purpose, assailed them the first of November following: where hee founde some resistance, but the courage of the Souldiers redoubled with the presence of the Prince, was such, that they quickly gayned them, and flew aboue a thousand and fiftie hundred of their enemies: there were also taken fourteene ensignes, and thirteene pieces of Ordenance. The king seeing the Leaguers attempted nothing but that they kept them selues close within the Wals, albeit the Duke de *Maine* was entred within the Citie with all his forces, beeing mooned with sundrie waightie causes, resolued to dislodge, and to employ his forces in some other places. Hee was no sooner departed, but that the Duke de *Maine* picked a quarrell against diuers of the richest Citizens, charging them that they had conspired against the holy League, and procured the King to come to *Paris*, which promised to deliuer the Citie into his hands, whereupon many were condemned and executed, and their goods seised to the vse of the League.

The King marched with all his power towardes the *Loire* and *Seyne*, purposing

sing to redeeme the Townes which lay betwene those two riuers vnder his obedience, and in his way tooke Estamps, Janville, Chasteaudune, Vendome, Lauerdin, Chasteauneuf, Loyre, Montenort, Chere and Montrichard, yeelded of their owne accord. The strong towne of Mans was taken by composition, Sable, Laval, Chasteauier, with the Castles of Beaufort, Tonney, and Aisenon, with manie other places of importance, were likewise yeelded vnto the king, so that in a shom space hee had gotten very great number of strong lownes, Castles, and Cities, yea, very large and mightie prouinces, out of the hands of the turbulent and seditious Leaguers. The Lord Digueres likewise ioyning with the Lorde Valerte, brother to the Duke of Espernon, preuailed mightily in Provence & Languedock, and brought the greatest parte of those Countreyes vnder the kings obedience.

The Duke de Maine lay all this while in Paris, and did nothing vntill the coming of the Popes Legate called Hemico Caetano, but then hee beganne to stir beeing animated by this Embassador, who brought with him fiftie thousande Duckers from Rome: hee also received three hundred thousand Crownes from the Spaniard, and by an excelleste taxe imposed vpon the Parisians, with the spoyle and haucke which was made vpon the Royals and richest marchants: hee got aboue a Million of golde, with which and the rest of his exhibition from Rome and Spaine, he furnished his Army with all necessaries, and leauing Paris went foorth to seeker the king, hauing in his armie three thousand horse, and thirtie thousand footmen. Hee tooke by the way the Castle of Viennes, and in the latter ende of Januarie got Ponthoys, from whence he remoued, and planed his siege before Meulan.

The Duke of Parma sent the Count Egmond, and the Lord La Motte, gouernor of Graveling, with some fiftie or sixe thousand chosen Souldiers to the ayde of the Leaguers. the Duke de Maine received them in Picardy, and ioyning them with the rest of his forces, marched towards Dammarin, drawing neare vnto the king, who was then at siege before Drenx. The King was no sooner aduentised heereof, but that he raysed his siege, and hasted toward Tury, where he supposid that the Duke with all his forces had beeene lodged, and comming to a place neare vnto the Towne called Saint Andrews plaine, he ordered his batailles, deuiding all his horsemen into seuen esquadrons, flanking them very strongly with their seuerall battalions of footmen, euerie one with their Enfans Perdus in theyr front, readie to attache the skirmish assoone as the enemie shoulde appeare. The first Squadron was led by the Mareeschall Aulmont, wherin was thicke hundred horse, and twelue Regiments of French footmen. The Prince Montpencier led the second, which consisted of three hundred horse and foyre hundred Lansquenetes, and a Regiment of Switzers. The third beeing diuided into two companies containing foure hundred light horse, were somewhat further advanced then the former two, and were led by the Lord Graund Pryer, the lord Guynny. The Baron of Biron commanded ouer the fourth wherin were two hundred and fiftie good horses, with certaine Corners of light horsemens. In the fift was the king himself with six hundred horse, flanked on each side with foyre Regiments of Switzers. The sixt was led by the Mareeschall Biron, with two hundred and fiftie horses, and two Regiments of French

1590.

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French footmen. The seauenth squadron was a great Hot of Ruiters, strengthned with French footmen as was vied in other battailes.

The Duke de Maine resoluing to trie his fortune at that present, set likewise his forces in battaile array, and taking his Cornet consisting of some two hundred and fiftie horses, put himselfe in the middest of two squadrons of Launces, which came out of the low countreyes, wherin were sometwelve or thirteene hundred horse. The Duke of Nemours with other two hundred and fifty horse, & the Cheualier D'Assaile with his band of horse, incorporated themselves with this huge companie of Launces, containing now in al, some thousand eight hundred horsemen, marching in front they were flanked also with two Regiments of Switzers, lynes with French shot. There were two other squadrons of Launces, the one compounded of French, Italians, & Albaneles, the other of Wallons and Spaniards, and betweene them both a strong battalon of French enfantery and Lansquenetes, who had on their right wing seauen hundred Ruiters, and on the left wing ffe hundred, with four Culverings.

All things beeing thus ordered, and both armies in a readinesse for a generall fight, the great Ordenance began to thunder on both sides: the fury wherof being once past, the horsemen and footmen charged each other couragiouly, and maintained a cruell and bloudy fight for a long time, but at length the victorie inclined to the King, and the whole power of the Duke was ouerthrown. The King himselfe that day fought valiantly, and performed both the dutie of a prudent captaine and a couragiouys and hardy Souldier. There were slaine very neere two thousande horsemen of the enemies, and many of them commanders. Some twelve or thirteene hundred were drowned in the Riuier of Tury: the most part of the footmen were cutte in peeces, and aboue foure hundred were taken prisoners: al the Switzers yeelded to the kings mercy: the Duke de Maine ranneway with the formost, leauing his friendes to the mercie of their enemies, and lost all his Ordenance and munition: the Duke of Nemours, Bassompierre, Tauannes, Rosne, and many others, fled to Drenx: the cheefest that was slaine was the Count Edmond, knight of the order of the golden Fleece, and the general ouer the forces sent from the Duke of Parma out of the low countreyes: the yong Count of Brunswick, captaine Collin a Spaniard, and the Lord of Chastaneray: the Principall prisoners were the Lord Auffrist, with many other Italian and Spanish Lords, the Lord Boysdauphin, whobare the white Corner of the Duke de Maine, was likewise taken prisoner, and with him. Fountaine, Martell, Leebant, and many other Gentlemen of good accound.

On the kings sidethere were slaine the Lord Clermont, Autravne, one of the Capaines of the kings guard, the Lord Tishcombert, Longauay, Crenay, Vienne, Mauille, Fequieres, with some other twenty or thirtie Gentlemen at the most. The Marquesse of Neze, the Earle Choffy, the Lord de O, the Count Lud, the Lords Moulenet, Lauergne, Rosne, and many others were hurt, but not in danger of death: and this was the ende of this great battaile, fought in the plaine of Saint Andrew, the fourth of March, 1590.

The fame of this glorious victorie over the Leaguers so terrifid sundrie Townes,

The Duke
de Maine
ouerbowne
in the plaine
of Saint
Andrew.

townes, that they yeelded forthwith, and sent to cravé pardon for their former offences. *Mante, Vernon, Cressy, Lagny, Poissy, Saint Germaine, and Saint Clow,* were the first that were drawen to their due obedience, by whose examples sundrie others were easily reclaimed and yeelded vpon their first sommance: the king beeing glad of this fortunate successe, resolute to besiege Paris: whereof when as the Parisians were enformed, as also of the ouerthrowe of the Duke de Maine, they were marauisly affrighted, and the rather for that they had promised themselves an assured victorie, groundinge vpon the Dukes proude bragges, and the fantasticall prophesies of sundrie seditious Friers, and had not the Duke *Hemico Castane* the Popes Nuntius, and *Barnardus Mendoza* scattered good store of Crownes among the lesuites and such frierlike fellowes, who shoulde with theyr seditious sermons encourage the people to persist in theyr rebellious actions, and corrupted the principall inhabitants with money and fayre promises: the Parisians hadde in that conseruation of minde come to aske pardon as well as others: but they beeing seduced by their chieftaines and ringleaders, beganne to bethinke them how to fortifie their Citie, and to make themselves able to endure a siege.

The king seeing their obstinacy, followed his course, and knowing the Citie to bee very populous, and nothing well prouised for so many moneths, determined to take all the passages, and to blocke in the Parisians so sure, that they should come by no victuals, making choise to vanquish them rather by famin then by the sword, as the safest way to punish his enemies, and to late his friends. Hce therefore leised vpon all the strunge Townes about the Citie, as *Corbeil, Melun, Montereau, Tonnes, and Charenton*, and stopping the Riuers of *Ouse, Marne, Tonnes, and Seine*, would not suffer any prouision to bee conuayed into the Citie. Whereupon there beganne to grow great scarcenesse, and a sore famine threatened that rebellious multitude. The Duke de Maine was gone into *Pernonne* in Picardy, and from thence to *Bruxelles*, to the Duke of Parma, to entreat him to come to the succours of the League and vsed all the other meanes hee could to leue newe forces: and hauing had some promises from Spaine, assured himselfe of syd out of the low Countries, wherewith he should be once againe able to meete the king, who althis while lay before Paris, and attempted nothing but onely to keepe it from victuals, and by that meanes had so famished the towne of *S. Dennis*, that after that they had consumed all their old store, and had eaten vp their horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, rootes, hearbs, & much bread made of ground straw beaten to powder, they were enforced to yeeld to the kings mercy, who vsed them very graciously. Penury and want likewise so pressed the Citie of Paris, that by the beginning of July there were no dainties to be found in the Citie, but the Parisians were gladd to fall to such homely viands, as not long before had serued for a dish at *S. Dennis*. Yea, so great and so horrible was the famine, that there were many children eaten and devoured by those hungry and staruen rebelles.

When the Duke de Maine who was still attending vpon the Duke of Parma, was aduertised of the great and extreme penury that was among the Parisians, as also of the vprores and murtherings of the people, hee wrote letters

*The Duke
de Maine
goeth to
Bruxelles to
the Duke of
Parma for
ayde.*

*S. Dennis,
yeeldeis to
the King.*

*Great famin
in Paris.*

full

full of rich promises, assuring them of the comming of the Duke of Parma and humelte, with a sufficient number to raile the siege. The miserable people opprest with the tyrannie of their rulers, hardned with seditious sermons, blinded with ignorance, seduced with malice, and sed with much villanie from Spaine, from the Pope, and from this Duke, and by Gods iust judgement given ouer to a reprobate iense, held out obstinately, and would by no perswasions be enduced to submit themselves vnto the Kings mercie.

The hope that the Spaniard had to conquerre France, and to cloath himselfe with the rich spoyle of the Flower de Lis, made the Duke of Parma to giue better care to the Duke de Maine, and to hearken to the succours of the distressed Leaguers, so that hauing gathered a power of some 15000. Spaniards, Italians, Wallons, and Flemmings, all of the olde bands of the country : in the latter ende of August hee entred into France, and ioyning with the forces of the Duke de Maine, marched towards Paris. The King hauing to deale with so great an enemy, brake vp his siege and went to meeke him as farre as the plaine of Bounday, and there ordered his battailes, & made himselfe ready to end the quarrell by a generall fight: the Kings army consisted of 10000. French footmen, 4000. Switzers, 4000. horsemen, the greatest number wherof were gentlemē of the cheefest houses in France, and 800. Ruiters: there were sixe Princes, two Mareschalles of France, and a great number of noble men, capaines, and Gentlemen, who were able to leade as great an armie as that was. The Duke of Parma hauing discouered all his warlike multitude from the top of a hill, returned to his campe, and caused his souldiers to entrench themselves as strongly as they could, and refused to fight, albeit the king staid for him by the space of three daies together: but afterward perceiuing that the Duke would not be drawen to a battaile by no meanes, hee determined to breake vp his armie, and to sende his souldiers into severall prouinces to rest and relieue them after so painfull and laborious a iourney, and so to make them fresh and lustie against hee should haue better opportunitie to fight against his enemies.

Alsoone as the king was departed wel neere twenty Leagues off, and that he had denide his forces by sending them into severall places, the Duke gaue him out of the trenches & hasted to Paris, where he was welcomed with great ioy: but he had not continued there long, but the tyrannie, pride, and villany of the Spaniard and hispaniolized was such, that the Parisians waxed weary of that intollerable burthen, & would faine haue bin rid of them and they had wist how, they therfore entreated the duke to open the riuier for the traffick, which he promised, & vndertooke the siege of Corbaille, which, after 3. assaults wherin he lost a great nuber of his best & most approued souldiers, he tooke by force, & shewed all crueltie vpon the inhabitants. He made the Parisians beleue that he would go from thence to take Poysy, Meulan, Maule, Vernon, & Pont del Arch: but indeed he was not so good as his word, for he did nothing of al this, but trifled out the time, & fed the citizens with faire words vntil the latter end of October, and then marched homeward through Brie, being followed hard at the heels, by the king and those small forces which he could raise vpon the sodain, first out of as far as L'Arbre de Guyze, where he entred into the low countreyes with not France, past some 8000. of all that companie wherewith hee had entred into France.

*The Duke
of Parma en
treth into
France.*

*The Duke
of Parma re-
fuses to
fight.*

*The Duke
of Parma en
treth into
Paris.*

*The Duke
of Parma
leaves
France.*

After

*Chartres
taken by the
king.*

After that the Duke of *Parma* was gotten into the low Countreyes, the king hauing gathered al his forces together marched toward *Chartres*, which he besieged, and after many sharpe assaults tooke it, and brought it vnder his obedi- ence, hee tooke also *Aulnean, Machenille, Dourdan, Bonfery, Clay, Trumblay, Man-*
*nican, Givis, and so scoured al the part of Picardy, that no enemie durst once shew his face, and from thence passed into Britaine, where hee defeated the Lorde Saint Lawrence, Mareschall of the Armie of therebels vnder Duke *Mercury*, and surprised Louuiers, where hee found great store of Corne, Wine, and all other necessarie prouision, besides foure thousand fat Oxen, wherewith hee plenti- fully victualled his army for many dayes.*

Cinqeens taken.

About the same time the Lord *Chartres*, gouernour for the King in *Deepe*, and Sir *Roger Williams* a very courageous and well experienced English knight, with their English & French forces, amounting to some seauen hundred men, defeated two regiments of the Leaguers at a place called *Cinqeens*, and put them in a maner all to the sword. The Prince *Conty* tooke *Mount Morillon, Chawney, S. Sauin, Blank en Bury, Bourge, Archambault, Playfance, Bellaybre, A vailes, Betonne, Bisse,* and many other forts and Castles in *Limosin* and *Toureyn*. The Prince *D'ombs* accompanied with the valiant, fortunate, and noble Gentleman Sir *John Norris*, general of such forces as were sent out of *England* for the ayde of the K. into *Britaine*, tooke *Guingampe*, where there were a great number of the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of the Countrey, who with the Towne payed fiftie thousandde Crownes for their Ransome, and tooke the oath of Obedience to the king: and passing from thence to *Quelner*, encountring with the Duke *Mercury* a principall Leaguer, who at the first shewed a countenance as though he would haue tryed the quarrell by an entire fight: but after the losse of som e two or three hundred Spanish and French Leaguers, with *Don Roderigo*, cheefe Mareschall of the Spaniards, and the Lord *Guebrian Collonel* of all the footmen, he retired further off to places of greater securite.

Noyon taken.

The king was now at the siege of *Noyon*, which in the ende yeelded vpon composition, and the Lord *Vile* submitted himselfe to the king, and had leaue to depart whither hee would: the Leaguers seeing the kings fortunate suc- cesse, fearing that all in the ende would yeeld vnto him, procured a newe ex- communication from *Rome* against him and all his faithfull subiects, and cau- sed it to be published at *Pont del Arch* in *Normandy*, by *Marcellus Landrianus*, a saucie and malepert Jesuite: but the king beeing aduertised hereof, coman- ded his Court of Parlement holden at *Cane* to proceede against Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth, who sent it, and his *Numis* that brought it, as against tyrannes, conspirators with rebels, perturbers of the State, fowlers of sedition, at the common and notorious enemies of GOD and all goodnesse, and taking the

*The Popes
Bull hanged
upon the
gallows and
burned at
Tours.*

Popes Bull, caused it to bee fastned to a gibbet at *Tours*, by the common hang- man of the towne, and to bee consumed to ashes, to the great reioycing of all the beholders.

The King vnderstanding that the right honourable Lord the Earle of *Ff-*
sex was nowe arriued in *France* with a bande of very brave men, and was mar- ching towrdes him, went to mee the saide Earle at a place called *Gyfors*, where hee remained not long, but returned towards *Champagne*, for that hee vnder-

understood that his Germanes were nowe in a readinesse to march on forwards on their waie towardes France. In the meane while the English forces tooke the towne of Gourny, and ioyning with the Mareschal Biron, distressed the Gourney was taken by the earle of Essex

Leaguers in those quarters.

Much about this timethe Prince *Tenuille* sonne to *Francis late Duke of Guyse*, escaped out of prison at *Tours*, where hee had beeene kept for the space of three yeeres and more, and having the waies layde with fresh horse by the counsell of the Lord *Dela Chastre*, his kinsman got safely to *Selles*, and from thence to *Verdun*, where hee was most ioyfully receiued of all the Leaguers, who had attended his comming with great deuotion, and were exceeding glad that they had recovered him, by whose means they imagined the better to countenance their actions, and to effect their intended purpose. Howbeit, this their ioy was foorthwith crossed by the comming of the Germanes, who were already entred into France, and hasted to the succors of the king.

This great and mightie Armie wherein were some two or three The armie of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, was diuided into sundry battailons, the Germans and led by theyr severall chieftaines and commaunders. The Vicont of *Turennes* conducted the *Vauntgard*, wherein were some 1600. horse, next whom followed the Earle of *Anboult*, cheefe commaunder in the Armie, with two thousand and two hundred horse. The third place was allotted to *Barbisdorff*, with a squadron of some 1000. horse. *Iselstenius* & the Lieutenant of the Lorde *Robours*, led 8. or 900. footmen. *Creighnicht*, *Bernhard*, *Dessaw*, and *Bonnaw*, had their severall regiments, & each cōsisted of 1000. horse. The Lord *Landins* and the Earle of *VVide* had vnder their leading 6400. footmen, equally diuided into two great squadrons, which were flanked as it were with another strong battailon, wherein were about 4300. footmen, and 200. horse, led by *Templuys* and the Earle of *VVeda*. *Christopher de Fesler* with 300. footmen, serued as a wing on the left hand, betweene whom and the Earle of *VVide* was the yong Earle of *VVestenberg* with 3400. footmen: there was also maruailous store of all warlike munition, as great Artillerie, pouder, shott, bridges, boats, spades, shouelles, pickaxes, and all other necessaries for the warres, and nothing wanting which was requisite for the aduaancement of their affaires: The Duke of *Lorraine* made al the preparation that might be to stop the passage of these Germanes, and to that ende stufed all his frontier townes with strong garrisons: but they opening their way by force, passed forwards, and by easie journeys came to the king, who beeing strengthened with these new forces, resolued to besiege *Roan*. The Leaguers being now not able to encounter with the king in the field, fortified the Citie as strong as they could, and attended the comming of the Duke of *Parmas*, whose ayde they had instantly desired, the better to maintaine head against the king.

The Duke understanding in what termes the Leaguers stood, & knowing that the losse of *Roan*, being a principall Citie in France, and the cheefest in *Normandy*, would be very prejudicial vnto that mistery, which lay secretly enclosed in his brest, and a great meanes to crosse the proceedings of the Spanish king, & the second hispaniolized French, gathered a great power, and leauing the gouernement of time into the Low countreyes to the Count *Mansford*, marched towards France, which

1592
The duke of
Parmagoeth
& the second
time into
France.

he entred about the midſt of Januari with ſome 8. or 9000. Spaniards, Italians, Duch, Wallons, & ioyning with the Leaguers ſo encreaſed his armie, that he grew to be ſome 17. or 18000 ſtrong, with which power he determined to raife the Kings ſiege, & to deliuer thē who had with ſo great exquifitneſſe ſought his helpe, and with this reſolution he marchēd towards Roan, which alſoone as thoſe who kept the town vnderſtood, they began to plucke vp their hearts, and made many ſallyes forth vppon the kings forces: but being valiantly withſtoode & ſhrewdly beaten, were glad to returne with the loſſe oiten times of their valiantest leaders and moft forward ſouldiers. Nowe as the Leaguers within the town begā to be puniſhed with many miſeries, & the ſam in daily encreaſed to the deſtruclion of many: ſo penury and want of neceſſaries began to creepe in among the kings ſouldiers, and by reaſon it was in the extreme of the Winter, many periſhed with cold, and great numbers fel into very ſore & greeuous diſeaſes: notwithstanding, the ſiege was ſtill continued, and all the politike deuifes that might be put in praetice to gaine the citie. The Duke being about Rie, and therethorowly enformed as wel of the ſtate of Roan, as of the courage & reſolution of the kings forces, would not attempt any thing rafhly, but ſending for greater forces out of Flanders, vnder the conduet of the Earles of Aremberg and Barlement, kept himſelf cloſe for a while, purpoſing as it ſeemed, to protract the time, & to cauile the K. who (as is already laid) began to fal into maniſold wāts, to raife his ſiege from before the city: but the Duke perceiuing that this depole took not ſo ſpeedie eſſect as he deſired, & pondering with himſelf how hard & dangerous a matter it was to releeue the citie by force, ſought by a cunning & politike deuile to bring his buſineſſe about, and therefore on the ſodaine diſlodged, & retired his whole power ouer the River of Sene, as though he had purpoſed to returne home again without any more ado. Which when the king perceiued, and now verily thinking that hee had bin quite gone, he licensed the greateſt part of his Nobilitie and Gentlemen to deparre home to their houses, there to refresh themſelues after ſo long & tedious trauaile, & reſerviug a ſufficient number to maintaine the ſiege, the K. departed to Deep there to repoſe himſelfe and to take counſell for the ordering of the reſt of his affaires.

The politike deuile of the Duke.

The Duke was quickly enformed by his eſpialles of whatſoever the king had done, and knowing now that all his aduanage conſifted in, celeritie cauiled his troupes on the ſodaine to turne head and to march backe againe towards Roan, and vſing great expedition, ſo fast approched, that the kings armie beeing not ready to encounter him, and no assured course taken to crosse his deſigne‐ments, he besieged Candebeck, a towne ſtanding vpon the river betweene New‐kauen & Roan. By this meaneſ was the riuer cleared, & liberty obtained to paſſe and repaſſe without peril: then were there ſonhwith a great number of ſhips prouided, & being thorowly furnished with viuctuals and all other neceſſaries, were ſent to Roan to releeue the Leaguers who were nowe extremely diſtreſſed and almoſt famiſhed. The King ſought all the opportunity that might be to fight with the Duke, and offered many skirmiſhes to drawe him thereto, but hee knowing fortune to bee very incoſtant, and in the warres eſpecially to bee moſt waueing and vncerayne, vterly refuſed to hazard all vpon a Battaille, and vnderſtanding that there was ſome ſcarcitie in

The Duke returns to Roan.

Roan releeued by the Duke of Parma.

in the kings campe, and that it was impossible that so great a multitude shoulde bee long kept togither in a Countrey so exceedingly wasted, where there were no meanes to relieue their wants, kept himselfe close, and sought to wearie his enemies by his long delaies.

The K. daily braued the Spaniards in the face, & dared them by many indig-
nities to come to handy strokes: which made the Duke resolute to do somewhat,
albeit he were sickly and most unwilling to fight, supposing that if hee shoulde
The Duke
would not bee
drawne to an
entire fight.
not stirre vpon so many prouocations, his enemies would waxe more couragi-
ous, and himselfe with all his Spaniards should lose much of their wanted ho-
nor & reputation. Whereupon he determined to encounter with the kings for-
ces, and to make some triall of the courage and resolution of his enemies: yet so
warily, that he would be sure not to bring himselfe and his souldiers to a set bat-
telle, but by some light conflict to maintain his honor: and by a Spanish brauado,
to make the world beleue, that hee did but little esteeme of the king, and all his
forces. Whereupon every thing being in a readinesse, and hauing encouraged
his troupes with sundry perswasions, the signall was no sooner giuen, but there
began a sharpe and cruel fight, which hastened the death of many braue and val-
iant souldiers. But the Duke espying the Kings side to be too strong, and that
his men were put to the worse, withdrew his troupes within their intrench-
ments, hauing lost the yong Lord of Chastres, and many other of great reck-
oning and account. The dukes horse was shot through with a bullet. The Count
Horratio, Scipio, and Hannibal Bentivolio, with many others were sore wounded
and in daunger of their liues. The Duke not liking to trie the quarell any more
by force, fell to his old politike practises, and laboured by all possible meanes to
get away away from the king without any further fighting. Wherfore leauing
a garrison of some 500 Spaniards, French and Wallons in Caudebecke, and sending
the Duke de Maine with 3000. Leaguers into Roan, hee reposing himselfe for a
while within the Citie, at length marched away, as strongly and as closely as he
The Duke de
Maine en
treth Roan.
could towarde Paris, there to refresh them after so long and tedious traualles: Paris amars
as also to make tryall what store of Crownes might be gotten to satisfie his gree-
die Souldiers. The King pursued him, and following him in the taile, wat-
ched to skirmish with him vpon euerie aduaantage. But seeing hee coulde
not effect that, which hee so earnestly affected, which was to drawe him to an
entyre fight: hee caused all his troupes to turne heade, and ledde them before
Caudebecke, which he soorthwith recovered from the Leaguers, and leauing a
strong garrison to defende the Riuier, he retyred to Deepe, giving leaue to the
The King
gouth to
Deepe.
greate part of his army to go refresh themselves in more fertile and commodi-
ous Countreys.

Thus was Roan deliuered out of the hands of the King, by the comming of
the duke to the great encouragement of the Leaguers, who seeing the Kinges
fortune to frowne, began to triumph, and to reioyce exceedingly for this their
vnexpected relief: and the rather for that this their good hap was seconded by
diuerte other fortunate exploits in other places: for the Duke *Joyense* ouerthrew
certaine of the Kinges troupes before Lastrech, as they went to surprise the
sayd towne, being betrayed by some of those, who had promised them to bee a
meanes to let them enter without anie impeachment. But they vsing this

*The leaguers as a stratagem to entrap the Kings souldours, enformed the Duke of all theyt
ouerthow sundry of the
Kinges forces.* proceeded: who as soone as hee had intelligence thereof, gathered a strong power, and lying in ambush by the way as they shold passe, suddenly set vpon them, and slue three or foure hundred, and tooke 200. prisoners: among whom were *Monsieur de Violet, de Godus, & sundry others of very good account.* Three hundred fled to a castell not farre off, called *la Trappe*, which was forthwith besieged by the said Duke, and the leaguers: they who were within the castell valiantly defended the place for a while, induring some thirtie or sondrie Cannon shot at length considering their want of necessaries, & how they were not able to maintaine themselues as they desired, they yeelded, hauing lost *Calaun: bieres, Tanis, Lestolies, Ranelens, Bertrand, Deluan, Biense, de Lucques, La Brosse, Lespinac*, and many other chieftains and commanders. *La Barry, Portalefe, Pibrac,* besides, sundry gentlemen were taken prisoners, and well neare two hundred common souldiers. About the sametime Duke *Mercurie* likewise ouerthrew the power of the prince of *Conty*, & the prince *D'ombes* in *Britany*: and hauing taken ten field peeces frō them, slue many of their brauest and valiantest men, as *Membaise, Rochpot, Picheres*, with some others, preuailing mightily in those quarters, and reducing sundry townes vnder the obedience of the seditious league. Thus did the Kings affaires beginto go backward, and many townes who were waueing before, did nowe wholly abandon the King, and ioynewith the rebels. Sundry of the nobilitie, who were popishly affected, and therefore glad of the Kings bad successe, revolted, and secretly conveyed themselues away, either to the enemy, or into their owne countries, and by their bad example, drew on infinite numbers to take the same course, forsaking their lawfull prince when hee stood in greatest need of their seruice, exposing that noble kingdome to the barbarous villanie of that viperous broode, who never cease gnawing out of the bowels of her, that should be their dearest and best beloued mother.

Mareschall Biron slaine. The King wanting sufficient power to stop these wicked proceedings, was forced to suffer the rebels to range at large, and to get many of his townes, both in *Normandy, Britany, Province, and Dauphiny*: They took likewise *Esperton*: where in they found great store of wine, corne, & other necessaries for thewars. These fortunate exploits so encouraged that rebellious route, and so puffed them vp with the pride of their owne forces, that they vtterly refused to bow their necks vnder the yoake of obedience: or to admit of any other government then such as pleased theselues. The king was loath to loose *Esperton*, being a towne of verie good importance, and therfore drew all his forces to the siege therof, where the Mareschall *Biron* was slaine with a shot from the wall, while hee was verie busie in viewing the army, & in giuing order for the planting of the siege. Yea, *The dannger and the king himself was in great perill, hauing his horse killed vnder him with of the King.* the same bullet, wherewith the Mareschall was slaine before. Duke *Mercurie* in the meantime tooke *Manus* in *Britain*, and the duke *de Maine* recovered *Candebecke*, and cleared all the riuere frō *New-hanen* vpto *Roan*. The D. of *Nemours*, gouernor of *Lions*, took *Vienna* and *Valence*, and by that means comanded the riuere of *Rhodanus*. Now were the Germans who came into *France* in 91. desirous to returne home: so that taking their leave of the French K. they marched toward *Germany* as fast as they could: but by reason they were not so many, nor so strong

as when they came first into France, they were desirous to passe rather by leauie then by force, and therefore they thought it conuenient to send to the Duke of Parma for to obtaine License of him, that they might quietly passe through the Duchesom of Luxemburgh, who readily condiscended thereto, vpon condition that they should not rifle the Countrey as they went, but should trauaile in peaceable manner, and pay for whatsoeuer they tooke. Thus this great and mightie Army which had in concieute devoured halfe France, and at theyr comming had opened their way by fine force, returned home without doing of anie great matter, and were driuen to aske leauie and to sue to their enimies for their passport, such and so strange an alteration ensued in a short space.

*The Gens
mainstres
turne home.*

The Leaguers beeing drunken with this prosperous successe, began to consult about the election of a new King, and to that ende the Duke of Feria, and the Cardinall of Sens, the Popes *Nuntio* were sent to Paris to bee present as assistants in this waightie businesse, as well to aide with their aduise and counsell, as to perswade with sundrie great states, who as yet were not fully *satis* about a resolued in this poynt, neyther whether they shoulde assent to so wicked and *new* King, desperate proceedings.

Now albeit that the rebellious multitude had prospered for a long time, and were growen in a maner to the ful period of their delires, hauing effected many things greatly tending to the countenancing of their affaires, in so much as that they had gayned the strongest & richest cities, with infinit numbers of turbulent and seditious heedes to ioyne hand in hand with them, and to take parte in these their wicked and desperate attempts : yet, as it alwaies falleth out among such a confused and braine sickle rable, each mistrusted other, and being often admonished by the secret warnings of their owne consciences how damnable a course they had runne, as also considering the intollerable seruitude wherto they were likely to bring themselves and their posteritie if they should longer submit themselves to their Spanish protector, and likewise seriously pondering the kings estate, which was still supported by the cheefe Princes of the blood, the ancient and most honourable Nobilitie of France, fauored by a number of valiant and wise personages, and countenanced by sundrie mighty Princes abroade, so that it still seemed to bee impossible to bring their purposes to passe, but rather that they should hazard their owne estates, their liues and liberties, yea, and in fine the whold kingdome, by calling in the Spaniars their olde and ancient enemies, who sought for nothing more then for the spoyle of the *Flower de Lis*. All these reasons with many other beeing well weighed, they supposed it to be their best, to reconcile themselves to their king, of wholereadie inclination to peace, though it were with hard condicions, they nothing doubted : wherupon they first priuily practised with sundry *guers seckes* of the Papists which followed the king, whereof there were no small number, *for peace*, and hauing by their meanes made as it were an entrie vnto their pretensed purpole, they sent their deputies to treate of a peace for three moneths, whento the king assented in July 1593, and afterwards continued the same for two monethes more, *videlicet*, vnto the ende of the moneth of December following : in all which time there was nothing doone, otherwise then the sending of sundrie messages each to other, with continual practising to draw the king to the liking of

of Poperie : wherein there was such paines taken, and so farre humane politie preuailed, that this noble and famous Prince who had for the space of iour or huse and twentie yeeres so valiantly and fortunatly defended the Gospell, and that with the hazard and perill of his owne life, freely exposing his idyall person, his treasur, his friendes, and all other meanes whatsoeuer for the main-senance thereof, beganne to waxe calme in the defence of his profession, and to encline to that false and superstitious Religion of *Rome*, to the high displeasure of almighty God, the great dishonour of his princely Maiestie, and to the extreme greefe and astonishment of all the Protestants. Thus this noble and renowned Monarke, the hope (as it were) of al that favored Gods truthe, whom God had beautified with so many excellent graces and notable vertues, as courage, wisedom, zeale, and constancy in so many apparent dangers, & had made him the protector and comforter of his afflicted church in *France*, had delivered him out of the hands of all his enemies, and had giuen him his Lords house (as the Prophet speaketh) and if that had beeene too little, would have giuen him much more, making his proudest enemies to stoupe before him, and to the admiration and wonderment of all men continually protected him in despight of all those who sought his ruine and ouerthrow, is another argument of the mutabilitie and interchangeable estate of all things in the world, and that not onely the heauens, the earth, the sea, the beasts of the field, the fishes in the waters, and the foules of the ayre are ful of varietie and change, but likewise kingdomes, countreyes, and commonwealths, Cities, and townes, all estates and condicions, of men high and low, rich and poore, wise and foolish, Prince and people, are full of change and alteration.

*Sunday pri
cipall Cites
of France
returne to
the King.*

In Januarie and Februarie immediatly folowing the Kings so apparent inclination to Poperie, most of the principall Cities of *France* which had with so notorious obstinacy for a long while shaken off the yoake of their obedience, beganne to bee reclaimed, and as it were on the sodaine to bee arranged on the kings side, & *Meaux*, *Lyon*, *Orleance*, *Bourges*, *Pontoise*, with many other townes of speciall monument & account opened their gates and willingly received the kings garrisons, cryng *Vive Henry 4. roye de France & de Navarre*, expelling the Spaniards and hispaniolized French, shewing great forwardnesse to withstande the outragious proceedings of the furious and desperate Leaguers.

The king had no sooner reduced these strong Townes vnder his obedience, having by this meanes mightily strengthened himselfe and weakened his enemies, but that hee was forthwith aduised by the Princes of his bloud, the dukes and peers of *France*, the officers of his Crowne, the Lords of his Councel, and the most notable personages of his courts of Parliaments, to frame himselfe to his coronacion and annoyncting, and that in such maner as all other kings his predecessors had done before him. Which said ceremonious order of anointing is accounted the euident token of their royaltie, and the publike approbation of the French nation. Whereto the K. assenting as one now entending to obserue the ancient customs of his predecessors: it was resolued that this solemne ceremony shuld be performed at our ladies church at *Chartres*, for that the citie of *Rheims*, where for the most part the king of *France* had wont euermore to be crowned, still persisted in her rebellion, and banded her selfe with the kings enemies.

OF FRANCE.

All things beeing in a readinesse for the solemnization of this roiall and magnificente coronation, vpon the seuen and twentie day of Februarie 1594. the King came to the sayde Church, attended with a great number of Dukes, Princes, Earles, Lordes, and other States of France. And by reason that some of the twelue Peeres as yet helde out agaynst the King, and others were sickle, so that there wanted of the full and competent number to attend him, and to doo theyr seruice as the tyme then requyred, the King subrogated others in theyr steade to make vp the whole number, whose names were as followeth.

The 6 peers ecclesiastical.	1. Bishop of Chartres.	Repres-enting the	1. Archbishop of Rheims, the first peere Ecclesiastical.
	2. Bishop of Nantes.		2. The Bishop Duke of Lann.
	3. Bishop of Digne,		3. Bishop Duke of Langres,
	4. Bishop of Mallefais,		4. Bishop Count of Benois,
	5. Bishop of Orleans,		5. Bishop Count of Chaleus,
	6. Bishop Angiers.		6. Bishop Count of Noyon.
The 6 peers temporall.	7. Prince of Comy,	Repres-enting the	7. Duke of Burgundie.
	8. County Sassen,		8. Duke of Normandie,
	9. Duke Montpensier,		9. Duke of Aquitaine,
	10. Duke of Rays,		10. Count of Tholous,
	11. Duke of Vantadon,		11. Count of Flanders,
	12. Lord of Lepembourg,		12. Count of Champaigne.

The King was crowned by the Bishop of Chartres, who for that day supplied the roome of the Archbishop of Rheims, and enthronised him in his roiall and Kingly seate, in such maner and order as the rest of the Kings his predecessors had beeene accustomed in former times.

Now began the Kings authoritie to waxe great, and to enlarge it selfe every day more and more, and so farre it spread in a short time, after that it was receyued into the heart of all France: for the 20. of March following, Paris the Metropolitan Citie of the whole realme, which had continued in all kinde of rebellious disorder, and that for many yeres togither, omitting no kind of outrage that could be imagined against her natural, and liege loueraignes, their crownes and dignities, by the vertuous and commendable industry of Brissac, was likewise reduced vnder the Kings obedience: who pardoning the inhabitants, so many and so monstrous offences, restored them to their auncient priueligies, rights, grants, Franchises, and liberties, with the reestablishments of his courts of Parliament, and that in as large and ample manner as they had beeene at anie time induced by any of the kings his predecessors, abrogating all lawes, decesses, statutes & ordinances, which had passed in prejudice of thē, as appeareth by an Edict bearing date the 28 of March, 1594. So as neither the said inhabitants, nor any of them should from thenceforth be troubled, molested, or disquieted in any maner of sort for their former disobediences, imposing perpetuall silence hereof to his Attourneyes generall, and to all other persons whatsoeuer: command-

commaunding withall, all Dukes and Peeres of *Fraunce*, all Officers of the Crowne, all his Lieutenaunts and other Magistrates, to cause the same to be proclaymed and published in theyr seuerall iurisdictions and resortes, with expresse charge, that the contents of the same shoule be inuiolably kept and obserued, to the end that if it were possible, the whole kingdome of *Fraunce*, which for a long time had endured so manie calamities, might nowe at length seele some ease and mitigation of former miseryes, and the beaten barke of that distresed state, which had beeene so daungerously tossed in a vast Ocean of all kind of affliction, might in the ende be brought to some desired hauen of peace and quietnesse, and there be safely harbourred, to the eternall glorie of God, the perpetuall honour of the King, and the continuall ioy and comfort of the whole Common-wealth.

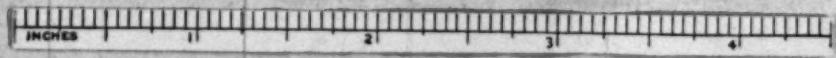
F I N I S.

L O N D O N

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1597.

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commounding withall, all Dukes and Peeres of France, all Officers of the
Crown, all his Lieutenants and other Magistrates, to cause the same to be pro-
clavmed and published in their severall jurisdictions and places of resi-
dence, and to be shewed unto all men.

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AUTHOR France

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